NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment----Without Compromise. | JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Corresponding Editor.

VOLUME IX.—NO. 7. | NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1848. | WHOLE NUMBER 423.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE

AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY

At 142 Nassau Street, New-York.

☞All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to the Editor.

☞Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. Gay, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—Two Dollars per annum: Strictly in advance in all cases.

Selections.

We copy from the Salem Register the following cheering and important intelligence from Martinique.

EMANCIPATION.

We are under obligations to William P. Goodhue of this city, for a copy of the *Courier de la Martinique*, of the 27th May, from the contents of which we infer that order was in a great degree restored at St. Pierre.

The revolt, incendiarism, and bloodshed, of which the New York papers give accounts, took place on the 22d of May, originating in the imprisonment of negro slave, whom his fellows attempted to rescue. Excuses followed and several families fled but we are led to believe that the disorders were ended by the immediate abolition of Slavery which was proclaimed in the streets of St. Pierre on Tuesday the 23d, and throughout the Island on the following day.

Under date of St. Pierre, May 26, the *Courier* says, in substance:—

"The appearance of our town, since Tuesday, is indescribable. The innumerable flags suspended from the windows of the houses, the groups of people which throng the streets waving branches of laurel, flowers and foilage, singing as they pass—the cries of *Vive la Liberte!* which resound on all sides, gave it such an aspect of joy that we hazard nothing in saying that never has it witnessed the spectacle of a festival so animated, so deeply felt by the masses,

But how threatening that Tuesday was ushered in! With spirits yet narrassed by the watchings and misfortunes of the night, the inhabitants still felt their hearts bound up by the dreadful signs which were manifest. The very atmosphere seemed ominous, and every thing presaged new evils.—A thousand thanks to the Municipal Council, which understood the state of things and promoted an immediate general emancipation.

Scarcely was this measure announced, when an immense burst of joy broke forth and instantly resounded through the country. Countenances till then, sullen and stern, became suddenly radiant.—Sabres, muskets, pikes, culasses, all were laid down and replaced by the olive branches of peace. On all sides flags were displayed and the festival commenced.

The next day the 23d, the planting of a Liberty Tree took place at the Aznotz battery. The blessing was pronounced by the venerable Abbe Poncelot. The garrison was under arms, a flourish of trumpets sounded, the officer of the guard ordered arms to be presented, and the troops to salute the flag of Liberty.

On the day following, two other Liberty Trees were planted—one on the Mouillage market place, the other at the Fort. This time the ceremony was conducted with great pomp. The assistant Mayor Souvignon, the Commandant de Place, some members of the Municipal Council, and many other citizens escorted by a military detachment, proceeded from the Government Hotel to the great door of the Church, where the Clergy joined the cortege which continued its march in fine order to the foot of the tree which was decked with flags and flowers, and at the side of which an altar had been erected.—After a similar blessing as at the Batterie d'Esnotz, the Abbe Poncelot pronounced a short address on the blessings of Liberty and Religion, 'Without Religion,' said he 'there is no true Liberty. Know, then, that it is not in vain that we have just invoked the blessing of heaven upon this tree which you have planted—this Tree which is the sign, the symbol of Liberty. Come, then, often to its foot, to learn the duties which Liberty imposes upon all, and I can promise you, for yourselves and your fair country, days the most prosperous, a future the most flourishing.'

Citizen Sauvignon followed, commencing his remarks with the inspiring declaration 'Slavery has at length disappeared from our soil. A single word has dissipated the hatred and anger raised by discord; a single word has calmed all passions, and replaced them with infinite joy, which resounds on all sides—that word is Liberty.' He proceeded in a very patriotic strain, and after repeated cries by the people, of *Vive Liberty! Vive Order! Vive Labour!* citizen Agnes followed in a similar strain, enjoining it upon the people to banish every thought of vengeance and of hatred, and being met by cheerful responses from the multitude. 'Union, citizens,' he said, 'union, for the love of God, of your families, of your firesides, of Liberty; for the love of that Republic which has put an end to Slavery, and which has for its motto '*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.*

The speeches are reported in full, but we have no room for them.

After this address, which was likewise followed by cries *Vive Liberty! Vivent Union and Labour!* citizen Agnes turned to the Abbe Poncelot and thanked him, in his own name and in the name of the whole population, for the good will he had shown under all circumstances, and for his ready concurrence in the great transformation which had just been effected. This ceremony finished, the cortege returned in the same order to the Church, where the clergy left it. Citizen Sauvignon, after having thanked the officer commanding the detachment, who offered to escort him to his residence also left, accompanied by the citizens who surrounded him, and the troops retired to their quarters.

All this was at the Mouillage. The same ceremony was observed at the Place du Fort, where a discourse was pronounced by citizen E. Meynier, President of the Court of Appeal and Municipal Counsellor. In the course of his remarks he said:—

'My friends, let this Tree, which the clergy have just blessed with all the pomp of Religion, let this tree which is a symbol of Liberty, recall to you constantly the title of citizen, which is the noblest of all when it is accompanied by virtues which make true citizens; for a citizen is not only a freeman, but a freeman devoted to his country, to his friends; the friend of order, the friend of labour.

We celebrate a great day; we must therefore take upon ourselves great obligations. We must take them in the face of Heaven, before God who hears us and who punishes the perjured. Swear to be faithful to the Republic. (Shouts of 'We swear it') Swear to maintain order. (We swear it.) Swear to protect persons. (We swear it.) Swear to protect property. (We swear it.) No more incendiarism, which in the eyes of France will make us appear like barbarians. (We swear it.) See how Paris accomplished its Revolution, how noble the deportment of the people, who have thus made it the admiration of the world. (We swear it.) These promises let us repeat. (We swear it. Each one of us will be responsible for disorder, should it come. (Yes.) Thus it is that the people are noble and great. Now, let us end by swearing to forget the past—with the Republic we must be regenerated. In the heart of a true Republican there is no place for hatred. There must be room only for that Fraternity which Christ preached, and which the Republic has placed upon its flag with the words Liberty, Equality. (Yes, we swear it.) You have in the country relations, friends. Go and see them, and tell them what is passing here. The people desire order, union, and, above all, labour, without which this beautiful country will be given up to wretchedness, Let France look upon us with admiration. Tell them to agree with the proprietors, to be reasonable in their demands, for without that they will not be able to obtain work. (Yes, we will go.) I leave you with a joyous heart, for I have found you such as I could wish. Thus it is that the people are great. (Here the audience cried yes, yes.) Rely upon me, who am a child of the people. Farewell, my friends.'

After these remarks, citizen Meynier having announced that the first suggestion of this ceremony was made by the widow Kan-Georges, who is universally esteemed, a hurrah of satisfaction burst forth.

A communication from M. A. Monfleury proposes a solemn funeral service for all the unfortunates who perished, and a contribution in church, to idemnify, as far as possible, those whose interests have suffered,—to take place on Wednesday, the 31st. The editor warmly seconds the proposition.

The *Courrier* contains several items of local interest connected with the events of the day and night of the 22d, and an official list of the victims. In the house of Sannois, 33 persons perished, including Lassere, who arrived from France only two or three days previous. Two others were killed, one died during emputation of the leg, and thirteen are reported wounded, more or less dangerously.

ADDRESS OF THE DEMOCRALIC STATE CONVENTION.

HELD AT UTICA, N. Y. JUNE 22 AND 23, 1848, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK AND OF THE UNITED STATES.

We should be glad to lay before our readers the whole of the able address of the Utica Convention, but for its great length. The subject of Slavery runs through it from beginning to end, in treating division of the Democratic party—the breach with the slave-power,—the doings and doctrines of the Baltimore Convention—and the pro-slavery position of the candidates of that and the Philadelphia Convention; but we can only afford space for that portion devoted especially to the consideration of the Slavery question.

The Slavery Question—How and by whom connected with the Presidential canvass.

Of the calumnies heaped on the Democracy of New York, none is more gratuitous or unfounded than the charge so often repeated, that the question of Slavery in the territories was introduced by them, and for purposes of mischief, into the Presidential canvass. With those who will attend to facts, and whose minds are open to conviction, this charge may be easily refuted. Let us briefly advert to them. In June, 1846, Mr. Wilmot, a distinguished member of the House of Representatives, from the State of Pennsylvania, offered to a bill then pending in that House, placing 3,000,000 dollars at the disposal of the President, to be used in negociating a peace with Mexico, and in the acquisition of territory, a proviso to the effect that there should be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, in any territory thereafter to be acquired by the United States; and this proviso was carried by a large majority, the representatives of the free States, without distinction of party generally voting for it. The bill having been lost in the Senate for want of time to act upon it, was renewed at the next session of the same Congress, commencing in December, 1846, when the proviso first offered by Mr. Wilmot was renewed by a member from this State, one of the undersigned, and again passed by the House. In the Senate, the bill was amended by the striking out of the proviso, and in this amendment the House concurred. In the course of the proceedings, the general subject of the extension of Slavery to, or its exclusion from, the territories thereafter to be acquired by the United States, was more or less discussed; and in the mean time, ten States, of which New York was one, through their Legislatures, instructed their Senators in Congress, and requested their Representatives, to support, by their influence and votes, the principles of the proviso. But in none of these proceeedigs, so far as the Democracy of New York took part herein, (and the remark may be extended to the Democracy of the entire North,) was there any reference whatever to the question of the Presidency, until after a disposition had been manifested by a leading Senator of the South—the oracle of the slave-power and the Coryphæus of its champions—not merely to mingle with that question his own extreme opinions, but to place them in the creed of the national Democracy; and this, too, not among the non-essentials—not among the less important articles of faith—but in the front rank of cardinal truths—as the highest standard of duty—the very touchstone of political orthodoxy. The promulgation of these views in the quarter referred to, gave alarm not merely to the Democracy of the North, but to considerate men at the South. The Nestor of the Senate openly denounced them as heretical in principle and destructive in their tendency; charged upon those who propounded and maintained them, the deliberate design of prescribing to candidates for the Presidency a test which no Northern man, not recreant to the principles and interest of the North, could ever bring himself to adopt; and prophesied, if the scheme were persisted in, the division and ruin of the Democratic Party.

With their attention thus attracted to the subject, the Democracy of the North, among whom the Democracy of New York, from the eminence of their position, and the power entrusted to them, are sometimes required to take the lead—could not fail to perceive, in many decisive forms, the working of the leaven thus insiduously introduced. Politicians and presses, who, on the first broaching of the question, had espoused with ardour the cause of freedom, and had denounced, as alike preposterous and wicked, the thought of making the flag of this Union, so gloriously identified with the triumphs of liberty in our own land, and with its progress throughout the world, the bearer of Slavery into territories now free, began to waver in their course. Plausible objections were raised in Congress at any action on the subject in connection with the war. Supplies of men and money were needed for its prosecution; and it was, therefore, inexpedient and dangerous to enter upon a question which might embarrass or delay the granting of such supplies. Until its termination, it could not certainly be known what territory, or, indeed, whether any territory, would be acquired; and the whole discussion was, therefore, premature. By these and other like objections, Senators from the free States, and prominently among them, one from New York, who has since stood at the head of the spurious delegation, by which their State was so grossly misrepresented and dishonoured at Baltimore; and another from Michigan, then an aspirant, and now a candidate for the Presidency, while professing to receive, and to honour, to love, and to obey the doctrine of instructions, were enabled to stave off, for a more convenient season, the reluctant performance or the wilful violation of the duty enjoined by the instructions they had received; though, at the epoch referred to, they were as yet, if their declarations could be trusted, firm friends of freedom and of free territory. In connection with these movements in the Senate, other Northern men in high places, whose names were more or less associated with the same object of ambition, were, from time to time, proclaiming their doubts as to the power of Congress to prohibit the extension of Slavery to the territories, or their readiness to apply to the subject, the line, or the principle of the Missouri compromise. And to give to these movements their last and most alarming feature, the accredited organ of the National Administration at the seat of Government announced what soon in a thousand ways became apparent to the most heedless, that to support the principle of the Wilmot proviso was no recommendation to its confidence or favour.

In this untoward state of things—amid this increasing defection to the interests of freedom—the Democracy of New York felt it their duty to intervene. They opposed themselves to the current, and if they could not wholly arrest, they yet stayed its progress. In their primary and other Conventions—through the press—and in the various other forms in which, in this quarter of the Union, the masses are wont to make known their sentiments and wishes, the voice of the freemen of our State was lifted up, to warn, to encourage, and to rally the friends of freedom, the lovers of justice, the supporters of the Constitution. Stifled at Syracuse, it pealed in trumpet tones, at Herkimer and Utica, and has been since re-echoed from every hill-top in the State. Yet in its loudest, its most exciting blasts, it has ever been the voice of conciliation, of harmony, of union. "We have not now, nor have we ever had," said the Utica Convention, "any desire to prescribe a test, in the Presidential canvass, which might prevent a union of all who sanction the general principles of the Democratic creed." In this spirit have all their acts and proceedigs been conceived; and while they were resolved that, by no act or omission of theirs, should any man be nominated for the chief magistracy who either denied or doubted the power of Congress to prevent the inroad of Slavery into the free territories of the Union; who had been on both sides of the Wilmot Proviso; who favoured the application to territories yet untouched by the blight of Slavery, of the principle of the Missouri compromise; or who, by any other form of infidelity to to the popular will, had disqualified, or might be expected to disqualify himself, from the support of Northern Democrats, they were, at all times, prepared cordially to unite in support of any sound and competent Democrat, who was unwedded to any extreme opinion on either side—unstained by polluting bargains, and unfettered by the manacles imposed by the slave power. Such was the avowed, the notorious position of the Democracy of New York in reference to this most interesting matter. From this vantage ground of honourable independence and fraternal concession, they hear with serenity and composure the noisy accusations and the empty clamour by which they are assailed. Conscious that by no act—no word of theirs—has this most delicate and dangerous question been unnecessarily mixed up with the Presidential canvass; feeling that, if blameworthy at all, it is not for acting or speaking too much or too soon, but for not acting and speaking sooner and to more purpose; and assured that intelligent and fair-minded men will do justice to their conduct and their motives, they commit both, with unfaltering trust, to the scrutiny and judgment of the people.

In view of the facts to which we have referred, how unfounded, how unblushing, the accusation preferred by the advocates and apologists of the slave power against the Democracy of the North, as if we had formed a sectional party, in defiance at the injunctions of Washington, and the plain dictates of patriotic duty? It is they, the leaders and managers of the slave interest, who have done this: it is to them that the indignant rebukes of the Father of his Country are justly applicable. Nor is it merely now, that they have subjected themselves to this condemnation. The history of parties in the United States, is full of instances to show, that while the North, and especially the Democracy of the North, have been unwilling, except on grounds of the highest necessity, to array themselves on geographical or sectional grounds, in their party relations, the people of the South, whenever any matter touching, or supposed to touch, the slave interest has arisen, have been ever ready to plant themselves in hostility, not only to their natural opponents, but to their political associates, in defence of their peculiar institutions. How much, from time to time, has been yielded by the North to this feeling, let impartial history declare. How little the gratitude or comity has been manifested by the South, all who are familiar with American politics have had abundant opportunities to know.

In regard to the soundness of the opinions entertained, and from time to time andvanced, by the Democracy of New York, as to the power of Congress over the subject in question, and the duty of exercising such power in behalf of freedom, we shall say but little—scarcely anything, indeed, as to the first of these questions. In the address of the Democratic members of the Legislature of New York, issued in April last, an argument will be found on the question of Constitutional power, in which every topic that belongs to it is discussed with an ability and candour befitting the importance and delicacy of this subject, and which to him who seeks only for the truth, will furnish all the light that may be needed in his enquiries. To this argument, and to the brief but masterly exposition of the subject, in the letter of Mr. Van Buren to the delegates of the city of New York, in this Convention, with satisfaction and pride we confidently refer as establishing beyond doubt or cavil, the authority of Congress to preserve from contamination the free soil and fair name of this relic

A single word, we take leave to offer, in regard to a proposal, which, now that the North has become aroused to the subject, and the advocates of slave interest perceive her to be in earnest, it is probable they will be ready to offer, or, at least, if offered by the North, ready to accept. We allude to the repetition of the Missouri comprimise. But besides, the insuperable objection that she establishment of slavery, by the action of the federal government, in a single square mile of free territory, makes every citizens of the United States a propagandist of slavery; there are many other objections of the gravest character, to any such step. The distinction between the case of New Mexico and California, and the case of Louisiana, is palpable and decisive. When we acquired Louisiana, slavery existed, actually in all the settled parts, in legal contemplation in every other part. The prohibition of slavery in that part of Louisiana lying west of Missouri, and north of 36 deg. 30 min. was, therefore, an abolition of Slavery in slave territory; the application of the like arrangement to New Mexico and California, would be the abolition of freedom, and the establishment of Slavery, in that part of those territories lying north of the line agreed on. We utterly deny the power of this Government to perpetrate any such enormity. The battle of Bunker Hill was not fought to create a Government with any such faculties. If exercised by Congress, it will never be submitted to.

It was said by the greatest of orators, that he would rather err with Plato, than think rightly with the herd of inferior philosophers. We live in the beam of a clearer and purer system, which instructs us, that the truth is ever to be received, no matter from whom, or by what agency, it may come. We cannot therefore say, that we had rather err with Jefferson and his associates, including the Father of his country, than think rightly with the abstractionists and pro-slavery advocates of the present day. But when we compare the genius, philanthropy and patriotism of the former, with the narrow-minded, one-idead sectionalism of the latter, we find in the contrast, a strong confirmation of the soundness of the opinions we have espoused; and we not merely hold to them with the tenacity of assured conviction; we cling to them with the grasp of sympathy and love. Believing that Congress has the power to prohibit the establishment of slavery in the territorries in question; convinced that this power should be exercised; and feeling in our inmost hearts that if through the sufferance or by the act of Congress. slavery should be engrafted on the institutions of these territories; there would then be perpetrated the greatest crime, which, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a nation can commit; we pledge ourselves to each other, to our country, and to the world, that, however it may be with others, our skirts shall be clear of a guilt so enormous. Not for the fee simple of all the lands to which the question relates; not for the perpetual reversion of all the offices of the federal government—would we bring upon our souls the weight or upon our posterity the curse, of any voluntary agency in the deed of shame.

THE ISSUE NOW BEFORE US.

From the experience of the past year, the events of the last month, and the discussion now going on at the federal capital, it is easy to see what is the issue which the Democracy of the free States are now required to meet. It is neither more nor less than this: whether they will submit to be placed by the slave-power, and by those who act with and for it, under the ban, on account of opinions honestly entertained, and temperately expressed, as to the power and duty of Congress to prohibit the intrusion of Slavery into territories now free, and will consent to its establishment in such territories, by the action or inaction of the Federal Government; or whether they will resolutely persist in the assertion of these opinions, and in just and constitutional efforts to spread them abroad, and to render them triumphant.

The main question involved in this issue is, in many of its bearings, the greatest and most solemn which, since the formation of the Government, has been presented to the American people. Though frequently referred to, and more or less debated, within the last two years, it has never yet received a thorough discussion; but the time has now come when it must be met. It can no longer be trifled with, evaded or postponed. It is already upon us in the bill for the Government of Oregon, above alluded to; it will be upon us in the bills for the government of New Mexico and California, which will soon demand the attention of Congress. From its very nature, and from the character of the people by whom it is ultimately to be decided, this question must necessarily become the great question of the day. In whatever point of view we may regard it, whether in its political, economical, or social aspects, it is pregnant with consequences the most momentous—consequences vast as those portions of the globe itself.

To exhibit in their just relations, all the bearings of this great subject, would require a volume. We have time and space for only a few words. In saying them, we shall, so far as possible, avoid every topic which might provoke irritation. We shall content ourselves with the bare announcement of a few of the most material points connected with the subject, when viewed in the most general of its aspects.

All experience has shown, and especially has it been demonstrated by the experience of our own country, that free labour and slave labour cannot usefully exist together on the same soil. The latter concentrated in masses, and weilded by capitalists, leaves little room for the free labourer for successful competition; and what is infinitely more injurious, it degrades him in the eyes of the community, and in his own estimation. To this cause must be ascribed the contempt felt during the prevalence of the feudal system in Europe, for all labouring classes; the slight regard in which persons engaged in mechanical pursuits, even those of the greatest usefulness, were held, and the exclusive appropriation to those who lived on the labour of others, of all the respect, and the most of the advantages of society. In the cities and large towns of our slave States the influence of commerce, of individuals from the North, and of other causes peculiar to this country, counteracts this tendency; but in the agricultural districts, where slave labour is extensively employed, it exists in such force that no free labourer will endure it, who has the intelligence to understand, and the ability to escape from it. He will eagerly seize the first opportunity to emigrate to a free State where he can gain without disgrace the just rewards of honest industry.

In like manner, and for the like reason, has the tide of emigration, which for more than half a century, has been flowing westward from New England and from Europe, avoided the slave States. Besides largely contributing to fill up Western New York and some parts of Pennsylvania, it has created on the right bank of the Ohio three States, one of which in population, is already third in the Union, and which, together, now contain three millions of souls, and three others, (Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa,) as yet of lesser note, but destined to rapid increase, in the North. In the meantime, Western Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, equally fertile, and in some respects more favourably situated, the settlement of which was begun at an earlier day, and with superior advantages, contained, at the last census, a free white population of less than one million and a half. The condition of Europe, present and prospective, is likely to give to foreign immigration, for many years to come, increased activity. It will follow, for many years to come, the same law it has obeyed in the past. It will seek the soil of freedom; it will shun that in which Slavery is, or is to be, established. If it have not free access to all quarters of the far West; if it be excluded, by the presence of slave labour from any part of Oregon, New Mexico or California, it will seat itself in the free States, and free territories, there to compete with slave labour, to the injury of itself as well as to him.

If it be said that the territories of New Mexico and California are too remote from the Atlantic sea board, and too unfavourable in point of climate, to attract the emigrants to their distant and sultry regions, and will, therefore receive no accession to their population from them; a moment's reflection will show the error and short-sightedness of the assumption. It is true that this vast class has generally avoided the Southern and chosen the Northern and Middle States for its place of permanent establishment. But, besides the unsurmountable obstacles which the extension of Slavery in the South has set in the way of the free labourer, it must be remembered that the tide of immigration which has hitherto rolled in upon us has been exclusively derived from countries lying in latitudes parallel with, or even higher than those of the Canadas. The emigrants from the North of Europe, true to the law of climate, and the instincts of nature, fix their abode in the temperate regions of the Northern States. Large numbers from Norway, seeking in the country of their adoption, the hardy and vigorous climate to which they have been accustomed in the father-land, have settled in our extreme Northernmost districts, in Wisconsin and Iowa.

In the meantime there has been little or no emigration from the South of Europe. The greater ignorance and degradation of its population has hindered them from the desire of exchanging the evils of their present state, for the blessings of a free Government. But had there been any such desire, there has been, as yet, no spot on the North American Continent, to receive the emigrant from Southern Europe. He is debarred from settling in the North by the same laws of climate and physical Constitution which keep the German and the Irishman from the South; and from the South he has been excluded by a barrier no less formidable, planted, not by the hand of nature, but by the vices of society.

The present year has witnessed the emancipation of the European mind. The glorious work it is now accomplishing had its origin in part, and derives its power in great measure, from the impulses and movements in Italy, and will be as complete and beneficent in its results for the Southern as for the Northern States of Europe. There is every reason to believe that thus enlightened with a just appreciation of the benefits of Republican institutions, their overstocked population will relieve itself by vast emigration to this country. Especially will this be the case, if our newly-acquired territories in Mexico and California, with their warm and luxuriant climate invite its entrance, unopposed by the presence of the degrading influences and associations of Slavery, and for the first, afford to the emigrant from the Mediterranean, a home as permanent and as happy as the free States of the North afford to those from the Baltic and the North Sea.

It is not then merely for ourselves, nor for our posterity, that we would preserve free the territories in question. We would keep them for the Caucasian race. We would anticipate the day when from Marine to North western Oregon, and South western California, the land shall be filled with the free descendants of this noble stock. Seeing what the ordinance of 1787 has done for the five States, by it, have been kept for the free labourer; seeing also the benefits which Iowa has derived from the abolition of Slavery in the Northern part of Louisiana, we would extend the benefits of this policy not merely to Oregon, but to the whole of our new acquisitions.

Our wishes, in this regard, are immeasurably strengthened, when we contemplate the evils which may result to our country, and to the world, by the further extension of the Slave-power in America. We speak not now of the unequal distribution of political power, further than to say, that, in permitting it to be extended to Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, the Whole North, and especially the Northern Democracy, by whose aid those territories were acquired, have carried the original compromise of the Constitution, on this point, infinitely further than any of its framers ever expected or desired. We speak not of the incompatibility of domestic Slavery as a permanent institution even in the mitigated form in which it exists in our American States, with the highest developments of Christianity, as well as with the advancing progress of the Democratic principle. We speak merely of the difference to us and to mankind, between Western America, settled exclusively by white freemen, and the same region given up, either wholly, or in part, to a slave population.

Throughout the Eastern and Northern States, free labour has scattered broadcast the seeds of knowledge and of virtue. In the elder of these States, they have long since taken root, and have borne for ages abundant and useful harvests. As our population, from its natural increase, and enlarged by immigrations from abroad, has spread into the vast regions of the West, the free labourer has been its pioneer, and by his vigorous activity and self-denying toil, the wilderness has been made to blossom as a rose, and to smile in the light of a true civilization. Let us ever adhere to a policy so wise, so just, so philanthropic.

DUTY OF THE FREE STATES.

It is not to be disguised that, with many of our Southern brethren, the sentiment is quite common that the people of the free States are more anxious to enjoy the honours and emoluments of office than to maintain with dignity and spirit their equal rights. The South having enjoyed, almost exclusively, the control of the Federal Government from the date of its existence, it has been, for the most part, the exclusive dispenser of those honours and emoluments; and this, doubtless, has greatly contributed to this sentiment. If, from these, or any other causes, the people of the free States have suffered in the estimation of the South, or of the world, the time has now come when they owe it to themselves, and to the nation, to redeem their character from this reproach. Both the late political parties have the opportunity to do, and are called upon to do this; they may unite in the effort without any abandonment of their distinctive principles. The old issues, which for the last twenty years have divided them, are now settled or set aside; a new issue has been presented, in which all minor differences—and in which differences that, under other circumstances, would be important—are merged and swallowed up.

It is important, too, that this effort should now be made, and that, if possible, it should be made to succeed. Resist the beginning, is the maxim of political, not less than of moral science. This is the first time since the formation of the Government, that the Slave-power, while retaining its distinct political associations with the two great national parties, has been able to seize and to sway the sceptres of both. If the people of the free States understand and perform their duty, such an exhibition will never again be witnessed.

Peoples' Convention at Worcester.

The Address adopted at this Convention is so brief, compared with such documents generally, that we publish it entire. Its length, as well as its importance, will insure it a reading.

To the People of Massachusetts:

FELLOW CITIZENS;—The occasion on which we have assembled demands of us an appeal to the public sentiment of Massachusetts. The occasion, in all its aspects, is extraordinary; and we cannot but feel that when you shall ponder, as we have done, with calmness, and under a high sense of responsibility, the duty which we all owe to the State and country, the purpose we have formed will commend itself to your judgment, and that your hearts must respond to the motives by which we are actuated.

This Convention, as is well known, was called by a small body of Whigs, acting without any formal organization, and relying upon the supposed state of public feeling to mould its character, and demonstrate its effectiveness. The call was addressed to all who should feel themselves interested in the declared purpose of the Convention; and, now that the day of meeting has arrived, the Convention is found to be composed of many thousand citizens of Massachusetts, of all parties, who agree in the conclusion that *they are not prepared, and that they cannot be persuaded to support either General Taylor or General Cass as a Candidate for the Presidency.*

It is deemed an insuperable objection to the support of General *Cass*, that, with his admitted qualifications in some respects, he is still too much of a politician, and not enough of a man to meet the crisis in which the country is involved. Born and educated in New England, a pioneer in the settlement of the western wilderness, and bound by all his habits and associations to preserve untainted the spirit of a free man, he has been prevailed upon to barter his birth-right for the Presidency; and he stands before the nation, availing himself of the advantages of his position as a candidate fiom the Free States, that he may acquire the power of establishing a policy which is designed to perpetuate the ascendency of the Slave States. Shame, we say, upon any professed Democrat, who can thus prove himself insensible to the monstrous incompatibility between an adherence to Democratic principles and the political support of Slavery! Shame, we add, upon the candidate and the party, who are not only prepared to assent to the continuance of Slavery in this professed Republic, and who do not think it hardship and disgrace enough to pledge their power to sustain it where it exists, but who also combine to make it a condition of the coming election, that there shall be no opposition to the extension of Slavery, so far as Slaveholders may find it for their interest to extend it, into any free territory acquired or to be acquired by the Federal Government! Let us congratulate ourselves that recent demonstrations, in New York and elsewhere, make it certain that the legitimate Anti-Slavery tendency of Democratic sentiments is beginning to be felt, avowed, and acted upon; and let us rejoice to be assured that there are already those among our Democratic fellow citizens of Massachusetts who will henceforth emulate the firmest Whigs in resisting at the polls the election of any candidate from their ranks, whose chief recommendation it is that he is the champion or the dupe of the slave power.

By the Whigs here assembled it is felt to be a duty to protest against the principal act of the Convention recently held in the name of the Whig party at Philadelphia. Upon a review of the proceedings of that body, it is impossible not to see that they are without a precedent in the history of the party, and that they involve alike an abandonment of its principles and usages, a disregard of the merits and services of its well-known and long trusted leaders, and the surrender to exterior dictation of all discretionary authority in the Convention to deliberate and act for itself. Abstaining from the performance of its manifest duty, by nominating as a candidate for the Presidency, some universally recognized and approved Whig, that Convention has resorted to the suicidal policy of endorsing a nomination previously made by organizations and anomalous assemblages having no political sympathy with the Whig cause.

Of the candidate thus adopted, it were, under ordinary circumstances, enough to state, in objecting to him, that he had explicitly refused to be considered "an exponent of the doctrines" of the Whig Party; and that he was known to be unwilling to accept a Whig nomination on the only terms, to which, in reference to any other candidate, the party would accede. But it is not under ordinary circumstances, or in conformity to an usual course of proceeding, or solely for the sake of aiding the legitimate objects of the Whig Party, that General Taylor has been enabled to attain the position, in which it is claimed for him, that he is entitled to their suffrages. So extraordinary a result has been of course brought about under extraordinary circumstances, by the use of extraordinary means, and for the promotion of an end which ought now to be considered and exposed.

Surprising as is the fact, it is nevertheless true, that, except for the distinction acquired by his military services in the Mexican War, General Taylor would have been at this moment a man unknown to the country. His life spent in the ordinary routine of a soldier's duties, and diversified only by the usual incidents of frontier encampment and Indian warfare, had passed its meridian without gaining for him any celebrity when it fell to his lot to become the conspicuous agent in shedding the first blood and winning the earliest victories of the Mexican War. That, in a few conflicts with an enemy of superior numbers, but inferior armament and discipline, he exhibited personal courage and military skill, and that, through the impression produced by these exploits, he was enabled to excite an interest in the war, and a sympathy with those engaged in it, which would not otherwise have been manifested, and also to make the war effectual for its detestable purposes of conquest and aggrandizement, are facts of which he is entitled to the just credit, *whatever that may be.* With the aid of such circumstances it was an easy process to make him at once a popular favourite; and, amidst the enthusiasm of the moment, the popular military favourite has been as easily transformed into a candidate for the Presidency.

This sudden and rapid elevation of General Taylor may be regarded as a phenomenon which has not before been witnessed in the progress of our Republic. There have been other instances of the gratification of the popular propensity to honour and exalt military chieftains; but they have, for the most part, been cases in which the hero has had the advantage of some degree of training in civil as well as military pursuits, or in which he and the people have been content that he should attain a subordinate station not involving any great responsibility. The case of General Taylor, however, is that of a successful soldier, whom it is proposed to transfer at once from the camp to the cabinet, and to invest with the highest honors and responsibilities of the government of this vast country, when all that is known of him is that he has been through life an army officer in rough service upon the frontier, or at home, a slaveholder upon a sugar plantation: that he is a man of scanty education, wholly destitute of political experience, who has never given a vote, or performed any civil duty, and who represents himself to be uninformed, and without an opinion upon the leading questions which divide public sentiment in relation to the administration of the government.

There may be no foundation for the suspicion that General Taylor has been unduly prompted by his military fame to aspire to the rewards of political ambition; although it is to suppose him exempt from human infirmity, not to regard him as in great danger of yielding to a temptation which has seldom failed to be irresistible. That none could have been more surprised than himself by the form and degree of the manifestations of public favor, of which he has been the object, is made apparent by his acknowledgements and conduct; and it is a compliment to his candor, which ought not to be withheld, that he has made himself the highest authority for declaring his entire disqualification for the distinction which is sought for him.

That the resort to General Taylor as a candidate for the Presidency, was at first a movement which seemed scarcely to be seriously undertaken, all must remember; and it is therefore important to review the succession of circumstances, which has gradually imparted to it so many elements of probable success.

The battles of General Taylor were fought at the period when the political agitation, which precedes a Presidential election, had begun to show itself. The election, it was felt, must give rise to the most serious and perplexing questions, and might subject both parties to a difficulty, while it involved the existence of the parties to be able to avoid. The administration of Mr. Polk had accomplished the design for which he was elected in securing the annexation of Texas, and in opening the way by means of the Mexican war, for still greater acquisitions of territory—all to be included within our limits, with a view to the re-establishment of Slavery where it had been abolished, and for the purpose of cutting off the last hope of rescuing the Republic from the fatal gripe of the Slave power. The war was still pending; and, by the necessary action of Congress in reference to its continuance as well as its commencement, the fact had been made apparent that the existing organization of the two great parties was no longer suited to the real state of the country; that the issues which divided public opinion were almost entirely changed; and that the comparatively few unsettled questions upon other subjects had become merged in the great controversy, which the object of the war and the policy of the administration had unavoidably introduced.

To the leaders of both parties, it was an unwelcome conviction that they must, and for such a reason, at once hold themselves prepared for a change of posture and of policy. To many of them it was a cause of patriotic solicitude, since they feared the results of sectional division involved in the Slavery question, and were apprehensive of other consequences which a modification of parties might produce. The fixed fact was plain to all of them that the Slaveholding States would remain as ever, united and unyielding in the maintenance of their claim; and they saw that there could be practically no alternative for the North but to meet the issue, or shrink from it. To those bent, as usual, upon a policy of conciliation and compromise, it was an embarrassing circumstance that the North could hardly, with a show of decency, again withdraw its claim to the candidate for the Presidency, while it was understood that no Northern candidate would be accepted by the South, whose views and purposes upon the Slavery question were not all that they should demand. In the Democratic party, however, this difficulty proved to be less formidable than in the Whig, since every Northern aspirant to the Democratic nomination was found to be prepared to make his submission, in almost any terms, to the Southern dictation. Especially was this true of the more anxious and the successful aspirant, who has sealed his character and his fate by his recreancy in this instance; for whom it must be destined to be the last distinction that shall linger about his memory, that he was successful, beyond all candidates for the Presidency, in destroying by a single act his party and himself.

The leaders of the Whig party determined, like their opponents, to risk the result of maintaining their organization. The hope was entertained for a while that the obligations of the party to Henry Clay, and the public sympathy, which, in some striking modes, has been expressed in his behalf, might enable them once more to rally upon him as their candidate, without incurring the risk of the division that otherwise seemed inevitable. It is a fact to be thought of, that, but for the prospects of an union upon Mr. Clay, the Whig party must probably have been dissolved at the commencement of the canvass. No Northern Whig, acceptable to the North, has been named, of whom it is believed that the South would vote for; and it has been all along understood and virtually conceded, and the whole action of the party has proceeded upon this assumption, that the North must accept a Southern candidate, and must not even claim any other. With the approach of the time for holding a Convention, the hope of succeeding with Mr. Clay, and even of uniting upon him, became visibly impaired. There was a want of confidence in his political strength; he was a thrice defeated candidate; he had not done enough for either party—as of course he could not do enough for both—to bring himself into full communion with the North or South upon the great question of the day; he seemed disposed to maintain his old stand upon the ground of compromise, and it failed from under him. He was still not without his friends; for no man has been surrounded with warmer and truer ones; *but there were those who called themselves his friends who had resolved to abandon him.*

It was in this emergency, that the yet tardy movement towards the support of Gen. Taylor began to acquire an increase of interest. The hero has received the nomination of the Native American party, and had accepted it. Some detached portions of the Democracy had tendered him their support, and he had accepted it. Sundry meeting of the people, almost exclusively in the Slave holding States, had agreed to go for him without distinction of party, and he had approved their purpose, and encouragedit. All this had been done manifestly without any expectation on his part, that the movement would make any further progress, or assume any other shape, than to place him before the public as a competitor with the regular canidates of the two great parties; and facts made it certain that he permitted the movement and promoted it with the sole expectation and wish of encountering the candidates of both parties, and of defeating them. In this state of things, the Whig politicians of the South, readily perceiving that, upon the abandonment of Mr. Clay, there was no other slaveholding Whig in behalf of whom the Nothern Whigs could be expected to sacrifice their admitted right to a candidate, began to contemplate the position of Gen. Taylor. They duly estimated the advantage of his military reputation, and the political value of the popular applause, which, for the moment, was every where concentrated upon him. They recognized in him a slaveholder, all whose interests were deeply staked in the maintenance of Slavery, and who had allowed himself to be described by his friends as being "*as true to the South as the needle to the pole.*" They saw too that the glare of his military reputation would be sufficient to conceal this fact at the North, from the vision of all except the more sensitive Ablitionists; and they calculated, with the help of Nothern advisers, how much this fact might contribute to make "the only Slaveholder that could be elected."

So far, let it be remembered, there had been no intimation to the public that Gen. Taylor was a Whig. He stood exclusively upon ground of being no party man, and he was justified in occupying this

support of General Taylor, is not to be complained of as evincing any want of political consistency. From General Taylor they were entitled to expect the vigorous exertion of the executive power and influence in favour of all slaveholding interests, to the utmost extent of their growing claim of Constitutional protection. The people of the South have never allowed themselves to be publicly deceived or betrayed by any of their public men; and this is the last moment at which they can be suspected of being ready to misplace their confidence. When they now resolve to vote for General Taylor, they understand what they are about; and, as soon as he is elected, the whole country will be sure to understand it too.

But the election of General Taylor cannot be effected by the Southern Whigs alone. Their Democratic citizens may, to a large extent, unite in his support, preferring him instinctively to a Northern doughface; but the united votes of all the slaveholding States are not yet quite sufficient to decide the bestowment of the Presidency. There must be Northern help to secure such a result; and the means are supposed to be in operation, by which it is to be obtained.

That General Cass will receive any extensive or effectual support from the free States, is not to be apprehended. There must be honest Democrats enough in all of them, to co-operate with Mr. Van Buren and the Barnburners, in insuring his defeat. *The election of General Taylor may be as certainly prevented, if there be a similar proportion of the Whigs of the Free States who are as true to their principles, and resolve to act upon them.*

In respect to the previous state of public sentiment, some important facts were disclosed by the results of the balloting at the Philadelphia Convention. They served to show that *not a slave State in the Union was ready to accept a free State candidate*, and that *the slave States went into the Convention for the purpose of carrying the nomination of General Taylor.* The result was the entire triumph of the slaveholding policy; and, so far as the majority of that Convention were entitled to peform the act, it *was a submission of the Whig party of the Nation, to an abandonment of the struggle against the extension of Slavery.*

It is true that there is no proper harmony in the action of the Convention. It is true that its proceedings were marked throughout by an unprecedented irregularity, confusion, and disorder. It is true that the Convention could not agree upon the declaration of any opinions, or in adopting any rule of political action; and it is moreover true that it refused to assume, or to cause it to appear in any way, that General Taylor is to be regarded as the exponent of Whig principles. In view of these peculiarities in its proceedings, and because they were conducted throughout in a style and spirit never before characteristic of the Whig cause, *there is ground enough for all true and consistent Whigs to be, in any manner, or in any sense, committed by them;* and to hold the right and duty of such further action, as may enable them to do justice and also honour to themselves and to their party.

The coincidence of the facts that the Conventions of both parties have resulted in the nomination of candidates identified with or pledged to the Slaveholding interests, and that it has been the immediate effect of such nominations to produce at once a division *in each party*, of sufficient importance seriously to impair its strength, or to destroy it, is the necessary explanation of still another and most important fact, which the numerous attendance at this Convention most strikingly attests. We refer to the fact, that there is throughout the free States a large body of intelligent and respectable citizens, until recently connected with the Whig and Democratic parties, who, in connexion with others that had previously abandoned those parties, now find themselves ready and able, in good faith, and upon principle, to organize a new party, which shall have for its immediate object the resistance of every scheme for the extension of Slavery, and the promotion of all constitutional measures, that are adapted to make the country, to the utmost practicable extent, a free, virtuous, and prosperous Republic!

The present Convention has been held to deliberate upon, and to provide for such an organization, at least so far as it can be rendered effective in reference to the approaching Presidential election. By a similarly constituted Convention which has recently been held in the State of Ohio, it has been proposed to hold a National Convention in the CITY OF BUFFALO, on the 9th day of AUGUST next, at which delegates from all the States are invited to attend, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presidency, *known to be opposed to the extension of Slavery*, and who may therefore be worthy of the many thousands of free citizens who will not give their votes for Gen. Taylor or Gen. Cass. This Convention has now responded to the call by providing for the appointment of delegates who shall represent the State of Massachusetts; and we do not suffer ourselves to doubt that the popular sentiment of Massachusetts is so far pledged to our object, as to make it certain that none other than the candidate of that Convention can receive her electoral vote.

Can we be mistaken? If we are wrong in the supposition that Gen. Taylor should not be expected to be in favour of the legal prohibition of the extension of Slavery, we may do him injustice. But if that supposition be well founded, is it not to do you the grossest injustice to take it for granted, or to believe it to be possible, that any political combination can be strong enough to place Massachusetts in a position, *in which her principles must be seen to have been abandoned, and her character to be sacrificed.* Does Massachusetts abandon her principles, and will she sacrifice her character? What has been inscribed upon her Legislative record so deliberately and solemnly, and repeatedly, as the declaration of her purposes to resist the aggression of the slave-power, to exert all her political and moral influence to promote the abolition of Slavery, where it exists, and to assume an attitude of determined and uncompromising hostility to its extension? Can she be induced to support the nomination of a candidate, who is pledged, or must be expected to defeat his purpose?

Again, upon what other grounds can Massachusetts be asked or expected to aid in the election of Gen. Taylor? Can she now begin to assent to the doctrine that it is wise, or necessary, or safe, to lavish civil honours, and to confer the highest political responsibilities upon military chieftains? Can she see in the hasty accomplishment of a few victories in the Mexican war, all the evidence she requires of sound and enlightened statemanship, and all the necessary elements of Executive ability and usefulness? Does she desire to establish the precedent, in conformity to which all the heroes of that war, from the highest generals to the lowest subaltern, are to consider themselves entitled, according to this popularity, or, it may be, the pertinacy with which they shall prosecute their claims, *to take precedence of other citizens*, in obtaining the various civil offices of the Government? Or, if different results are to be chiefly kept in view, is it enough for Massachussetts, as an inducement to make the concessions and compromises which are demanded of her, to receive the assurance that her citizens shall not fail of obtaining a share of the higher honours which the party of the Government may bestow, and that her thirst for spoils be calculated upon, and allowed for, in the anticipations of victory? If at any moment, it has been supposed that Massachusetts might be entitled, by the hope of distinction or of profit, to divest herself of her integrity, was she not properly vindicated by CHARLES ALLEN, when he assured the Convention at Philadelphia, that she "SPURNS THE BRIBE?"

People of Massachusetts! The course of duty is plain before us. This is not the time to profess but to act upon our principles. This is not the time to shrink from trial but to meet it. The movement we have undertaken must have a beginning; and should it not begin now and here? When Ohio leads the way, and New York beckons her to follow on the path, is not Massachusetts ready to go forward? When Ohio, and New York, and Massachusetts, shall have taken the field together, may not the union and co-operation of all the Free States be safely relied upon.

Let us not be discouraged. There are auspicious signs in every direction. The opposition to our movement which has thus far been attempted, or threatened, betokens, on the part of opponents, a most encouraging consciousness of our strength. The symptoms of dissolution in both the Whig and Democratic parties, assure us of the additional vigor that must be imparted to our organization. We begin to see who they are that will soon be with us;—not at once the leaders, or the mere politicians, or the office holders, or office seekers of either party, and of course not their numerous satellites and dependants,—not at once the timidly conservative, whose instinct it is to fear change, and resist progress, even in a right direction,—not at once the unreflecting, the undecided, and the irresolute,—not quite yet those who calculate cautiously the chances of a failure, and always wait for the certainty of immediate success;—but, instead of them, and vastly to be preferred to any of them, the comparatively few or many, everywhere, who think and act for themselves, and who are willing to think, and will be ready to act in their various spheres, as soon as this question of public duty is presented to them—the strong-minded and determined old men, who cannot get rid of their settled convictions, and who wish to spend their last days in the peace of righteousness—a large portion of the men in active life, who make a proper use of the intelligence and influence which our free institutions have secured to them—and *a still larger portion of the younger men*, who imbued with moral and religious sentiments, respond with enthusiasm to the call of duty, and are eager, as they are ready, to enter at once upon the race of honor. To a party constituted of such intellectual and moral elements, combining in fit proportions the wisdom of age, the vigor of manhood, and the ardour of youth, and concentrating all its resources upon the support of a good cause, what obstacle can be insurmountable?

Let us not be discouraged. The spirit of the country and the spirit of the age are in sympathy with our movements. An attempt to supply the principal defect of our institutions, to give complete efficacy to the Declaration of Independence, to strengthen the foundations of the Union, must succeed sooner or later, and just as soon as we shall have discharged our whole duty a better day will dawn upon the country. The good of the country is our object, and we can consult and provide for it; and as, with pure motives and earnest efforts, we continue to advance in our patriotic course, more and more voices will be raised to cheer us, more and more hands will be stretched out to aid us, and more and more hands will be warmed with gratitude to Heaven in the prospect of our success.

Nor will sympathy and co-operation await us in our own country alone. Every steam-ship that now crosses the Atlantic is an Anti-Slavery packet, and comes here freighted with intelligence which serves to advance the cause of freedom. Every revolution in Europe re-acts upon America. As chain after chain is broken there, it becomes the more difficult to rivet new chains here. Great Britain, pointing to her emancipated colonies, implores us to abolish Slavery. Republican France, too, promptly appeals by her example. From the banks of the Rhine, from the Seven Hills of Rome, from the towers of Constantinople, and from the Barbary coast, the mingled voices of Protestant and Catholic Christians and of Mahometans, solicit and remonstrate with us to remove from our Government its only blemish, to make this Republic a model for the world.

We will not, then, be discouraged. Truth, Justice, Liberty, Patriotism, and Humanity are bound together in indissoluble union, and are destined to share a common triumph. WE KNOW OUR DUTY—WE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE—AND WE TRUST IN GOD.

Communications.

To Wendell Phillips.

SIR:—In all you have written and published, and, I presume also, in all that you have publicly spoken during the last fiveyears, in favour of the doctrine of non-voting under our Government, you have, as it appears to me, entirely omitted to examine the main point of the question. You have entirely failed to attempt the refutation of the argument that has hitherto weighed with resistless force on the public mind in favour of voting. Consequently, with all your talents and eloquence, you and those who think with you have entirely failed to make any deep and permanent impression on the judgment of the people, insomuch that I presume the number of non-voters in proportion to population, is fewer now than it was three years ago: and though I am not personally acquainted in the place of your residence, yet I will venture to assume that, even there, the converts to the doctrine are extremely rare; and that most of those which do there exist belong to a religious sect which is one of the smallest in the world, and is by no means increasing in its relative numbers, as compared with the whole population. I hope this fact may lead you, in the true spirit of analytical philosophy, to change your course of policy, as a wise agriculturalist would who had pursued a course of planting for several years without success. And if, on discussing the real point at issue, you still find the public unchangeable, I hope it may lead you to the conclusion, that the people are only acting out the law of their creation, as the grass does when it grows upward; and that you will then make a more effective use of your admitted powers, by encouraging that desirable growth of mental plants which is conformable to natural laws.

The people vote, under our Constitution, because they believe in the truth of the following positions: viz: 1st. That human government is indispensably necessary to human welfare, and that its establishment and maintenance is a law of human nature. 2d. That it is impossible for government to exist without those who administer it and those who live under it participating, in some measure, in what is consistent with their own views of the highest justice. 3d. That governments can be changed only by voting or by civil war, and that between these alternatives the former is preferable.

The necessity of Government is apparent from the imperfection of human nature:—from the injustice, the unreasonableness, the violence and disorder to which human beings are prone. No people exist, and none are known to have ever existed, without a Government, nor without a belief in the rightfulness of Government. In this fact we have a revelation of the propriety of its existence, based upon evidence stronger than the religion of any sect can adduce in support of its peculiar doctrines.

In a despotism, every member of the Government, from the monarch down, must yield, in some degree, to the public will, and enforce laws which he does not believe to be perfectly just. So, also, in a Republic, the President, the Judge, the Sheriff, and the Tax Collector, must all enforce laws which they do not entirely approve; and the voter must vote for men who are to obey and execute laws which he he does not fully approve. Otherwise society would relapse into interminable anarchy.

To change the laws by the ballot-box is better than to do it by the sword, because it is more promotive of human happiness. If laws were to be changed only by the sword, civil wars would be perpetual.

You have not undertaken, I believe, to show the error of either of the foregoing positions. Until you do show that at least one of them is wrong, you do not touch the main point of the question. Reformers should not rest satisfied with finding fault with what exists—a thing very easy, even to a dull intellect. They should point out a better way. You, and those who think with you, should give us some detail of the *modus operandi* of a system of society, which you would substitute for the present, so that we may judge of its practicability and utility. Until you do so, it is impossible to make many converts to your theory.

I now turn to the question of the dissolution of the Union. Your ingenious and eloquent speeches on the subject excite admiration, but they fail to make converts to any considerable extent. This is because you do not touch the points which control the popular judgment. The people believe, that as the North has aided in bringing the slaves into their present situation, it is more just to assist in purchasing their freedom, than to dissolve the Union and leave them in bondage; and you have not, so far as I know, attempted to show the contrary. They believe that it is easier to induce political men to appear as the advocates of abolition, than as the advocates of disunion; and you have not undertaken to disprove it. They believe that it is more profitable and advantageous to the North to assist in paying for the slaves, than to dissolve the Union;—and you have given no satisfactory evidence that it is not so. They believe that it is easier to effect emancipation in the Union, than to destroy the Union—and I have seen no argument against that belief. They believe that a dissolution of the Union, instead of accelerating emancipation, would greatly retard it; and I have not seen any array of historical facts adduced by you, to prove that this opinion is erroneous. I cannot but think that if you and others would take up these points, and examine fully the arguments, *pro* and *con*, you would arrive at the same conclusion with the people in general.

New England has perhaps the strongest interest in the Union, of any portion of it, owing to her manufacturing and commercial relations. This interest has increased, and hence we find not one Disunionist in New England now, to five that might have been found thirty-six years ago. The supporters of Cass and Taylor, are anything, rather than Disunionists; and their opponents too, so far from asking disunion, do not even demand emancipation nor even that those features of the Constitution should be changed which require the North to uphold Slavery. This low state of political morality is attributable to the cry of disunion, which has, I think, produced the effect that too ultra measures generally produce,—that of strengthening the opposite ultraism.

The manufacturing and commercial interests of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, will restrain them, as the like interests do the New England States. Neither New York, Philadelphia, nor Pittsburgh can desire a tariff of duties between them and the South.

The States which lie in the valley of the Mississippi and the Ohio, cannot wish that a distinct nation should hold the outlet of their commerce to the ocean; and all States which would be border States if the Union were dissolved, will be slow to put themselves in that position.

The migration and intermarriages between the North and the South, are a great obstacle to the project. People will not desire to dissolve the political relations with those who not only speak the same language, but are also of the same blood with themselves.

The invention of steamboats, railroads, and magnetic telegraphs, all tend to the enlargement of the boundaries of nations, by increasing trade, and accelerating the operations of one Government over an extensive space. The now evident advantages of free trade tend the same way, as the greater the nation the greater is the reach of free commerce. To contend for disunion is to contend against the spirit of the age. To ask it, in this country, is to ask it where the strongest obstacles are found in full operation.

All our information from the eight, northernmost of the slaveholding States, tends to the conclusion that they would gladly accept of an amendment to the Constitution which should appropriate the public lands, or a part of the annual revenue of the Government to purchase the freedom of the slaves; and within the sphere of my acquaintance, the supporters of Cass and Taylor in the North, would generally be willing to see that measure adopted. Those called Abolitionists and northern-rights-men, are perhaps the greatest obstacles to the adoption of that policy in our own country, which they so highly commend in other countries. They revile this nation for not following the example of others, and yet they not only fail to advocate the following of that example, but when others propose it, they become themselves its most strenuous opponents.

The project of dissolution has so utterly failed of support, that not only will no township in the Union elect a man to the office of constable who advocates it, but no candidate even can be obtained to run for that or any other office on disunion grounds. Ought not this fact to induce us to try the policy, which has succeeded in other counties, but unfortunately has never been fairly tried by the Abolitionists of this country?

The history of all abolition by law is a history of emancipation effected through the slaveholding districts being subject to the same government with non-slaveholding districts, absolutely or comparatively. To divide the Union would therefore be to destroy the very means which have proved effective elsewhere.

The history of all mankind shows that where a nation has had the relative proportions of slave and free which the Southern States would have, if the Union were dissolved, there no emancipation was effected, either by law or by insurrection, until, through the gradual emancipation of whole centuries, the state of society had become changed. To destroy the Union would therefore be to destroy all prospect of speedy and general emancipation, if the experience of the past affords any criterion to judge of the events of the future.

Yours truly, E.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1848.

What will Mr. Webster do?

It is astonishing to see how fond men are of company. We demand a select society even upon the fence, and will not jump on this side or that till we have made as accurate a prospective census as possible. There are few who are willing to do either a good or a bad deed alone. Right and wrong are settled by majorities, as if the responsibility could be lessened by increasing the denominator. God and Satan are looked upon as candidates, and the one or the other shall have a chance for our vote in porportion as he seems likely to get the votes of other people. We weigh availabilities and measure accurately the amount of noise at the ratification-meetings. The achievment we find most difficult is simply to be ourselves. Yet nature is forever digging pitfalls of one kind or another to entrap us into individuality.—Separate as planets she made us, revolving each in his own orbit, mutually sustained and exchanging gifts of light and warmth, the inter-dependent isolation of each being necessary to the harmony of all. But we contrive to break through the natural laws of spiritual gravitation, rushing headlong together to make one shapeless planet out of the wrecks of the system.

When the choice between the strait way and the broad is offered us, we glance out of the corner of our eye to see how Mr. A. or Mr. B. is likely to go, having a fancy that the footsteps of either of those eminent men can settle the point at which the roads shall respectively come out. But, though we may thus be said to be carried by the legs of Messrs. A. and B. rather than by our own, we must remember that there is a third pair which will smart equally with the other two at the end of the journey. But we may be borne if we will upon another man's shoulders, but we carry our responsibility all the while upon our own.

We understand all this theoretically very well, but we never practically act upon it. Each of us is furnished with an inward consciousness which distinguishes right from wrong as infallibly as the electric spark selects the iron and shuns the glass. But we have substituted for right and wrong the expedient and inexpedient toward both of which our mentor is indifferent. Between these we cannot decide absolutely, but only circumstantially, being thrown out of ourselves for a choice.—We put judgment—as we name the result of worldly experience—in the place of conscience. Yet even the judgment we make use of is of a very limited kind. It is based wholly upon the experience of our own Little Pedlington. If our induction were comprehensive enough we should see that we might as well attempt to anchor the globe where it is, as to oppose our temporary and fugitive expedients to the tendencies of the human mind.—It is like trying to bind God with green withes.

After all, even in estimating expediencies we are loth to trust ourselves. We desire rather the judgment of this or that notable person, and dare not so much as write *Honesty is the best policy*, or any other prudent morality, till he has set us a copy at the top of the page. Massachusetts just now there are, we know not how many, people waiting for Mr. Webster's action on the present nomination for the Presidency, and no doubt there are hardly a village in the country which has not its little coterie of self-dispossessed politicians expecting in, like manner the moment when the decision of some person whose stomach does the thinking for theirs, shall allow them to take sides.

"What will Mr. Webster do?" asks Smith, "the greatest mind of the age!" says Brown. "Of *any* age," adds Jones, triumphantly. Meanwhile the greatest mind of any age is sulking at Marshfield. It has had its rattle taken away from it. It has been told that nominations were not good for it. It has not been allowed to climb up the back of the Presidential chair. We have a fancy that a truly great mind can move the world as well from a three-legged stool in a garret as from the easiest cushion in the White House. Where the great mind is there is the President's house, whether at Woodley's or Washington.

We would not be understood as detracting in the least from Mr. Webster's reputation as a man of great power. He has hitherto given evidence of a great force, it seems to us, rather than of a great intellect. But it is a force working without results. It is like a steam-engine which is connected by no band with the machinery which it ought to turn. A great intellect leaves behind it something more than a great reputation. The earth is in some way the better for its having taken shape upon itself. We cannot find that Mr. Webster has communicated an impulse to any of the great ideas which fill it or the destiny of the nineteenth century to incarnate in action. His energies have been absorbed by Tariff, and Constitution, and Party—dry bones into which the breath of no prophet could send life. Party could hardly take up the whole of a great mind so that nothing should be left over for humanity. It is not true that even the greatest intellects must be subservient to circumstances by which they find themselves surrounded. It is the characteristic of such that they create their own circumstances. Where they are is always the centre. If they must, as is commonly said, take the world as they find it, they must not leave it so. Their destiny is a beneficent and creative one. Thus far, Mr. Webster has created nothing but a fame.

What will Mr. Webster do? This is of more importance to him than to the great principle which is beginning to winnow the old parties. This, having God on its side, can do very well without Mr. Webster,—but can he do as well without it? The truth of that principle will not be affected by his taking one side or the other. But *occasio celeris*, and the great man is always the man of the occasion. He mounts and guides that mad steed whose neck is clothed with thunder, and whose fierce *ha! ha!* at the sound of the trumpets appals weaker spirits. Two or three years ago we spoke of one occasion which Mr. Webster allowed to slip away from him. That was the annexation of Texas. Another is offered him now. We do not believe that party ever got what was meant for mankind. Mr. Webster has now once more an opportunity of showing which he was meant for. If party be large enough to hold him, then mankind can afford to let him go. Nevertheless it is sad to imagine him still grinding for the Philistines. We cannot help thinking that his first appearance as Sampson grasping the pillars of the idol-temple, would draw a fuller house than Mr. Van Buren in the same character.

Just at this moment, however, Mr. Webster is more like Achilles than Sampson. His Briseis has been taken away from him, and he sits angrily inactive in his tent at Marshfield. There is this point of unlikeness, that if the Whigs can take their Troy at all, they can do it without him. Mr. Webster's unwilling co-operation would bring them but little strength. If the country is to be carried for General Taylor, the men who can hurrah are of more consequence than the men who can reason. People are to open their mouths, and shut their eyes, and they will get something which will make them very wise indeed—probably a mouthful of red pepper. On the other hand, should Mr. Webster go over to the seceders, his loss would be a very serious one. Let that great force of his but once get a chance to work freely, let it be inspired by contact with great principles, and it would become irresistible. The old *quidquid delirant reges* will not apply here. The more the leaders fall out, the more chance is there that the people will get their own again.

Let us concede to Mr. Webster's worshippers that he has heretofore given proof enough of a great intellect, and let us demand of him now that he make use of, perhaps, his last chance to become a great *man*. Of what profit are the hands of a giant in the picking up of pins? Let him leave Banks and Tariffs to more slender fingers. If ever a man was intended for a shepherd of the people, Daniel Webster is. The people are fast awakening to great principles; what they want is a great man to concentrate and intensify their diffuse enthusiasm. And it is not every sort of greatness that will serve for the occasion. Webster, if he would only let himself go, has every qualification for a popular leader. The use of such a man would be that of a conductor, to gather, from every part of the cloud of popular indignation, the scattered electricity which would waste itself in heat-lightnings, and, grasping it into one huge thunderbolt, let it fall like the messenger of an angry God among the triflers in the Capitol.

Let Mr. Webster give over at last the futile task of sowing the barren sea-shore of the Present, and devote himself to the Future, the only legitimate seedfield of great minds. Slimmer and glibber men will slip through the labyrinth of politics more easily than he. He will always be outstripped and outwitted. Politics are in their nature transitory He who writes his name in them, be the letters never so large, writes it on sand. The next wind of shifting opinion puffs it out forever. It is never too late to do a wise or great action. We do not yet wholly despair of hearing the voice of our Daniel reading the *Mene, Mene*, written on the wall of our political fabric.

J. R. L.

THE COST.—Mr. President Polk has sent a message to Congress with the Treaty of Peace with Mexico. It sets forth, at great length, the glory that has accrued to the United States in the eyes of all the world, from the successful termination of the war, and the advantages gained by the addition of so much valuable territory. It invokes, also, the "spirit of concession, conciliation, and compromise," in organizing the territorial governments, and declares that at no period has the warning of Washington, to his countrymen, to guard against "geographical divisions, and sectional parties," appealed to them with greater force than now. All which means that concession should be made to conciliate the South, and that the Slave-power is willing to compromise with the new Anti-Slavery party of the North, for venturing to have an opinion about the matter, by consenting to take the territory for the special benefit of the Slaveholders.

Mr. Polk, however, has given the figures of the cost of the war, which we hope will receive the attention they deserve from the Barnburners and Young Whigs. War was originally declared, it will be remembered, because Mexico failed to pay a certain debt due citizens of the United States. This debt, which we learn by the Message our Government has assumed, amounts to $1,519,604,76, with interest. The debt incurred by the war amounts to the pretty sum of $59,989,650,79. The Government, therefore, has spent about sixty millions of dollars—to say nothing of the waste of life—to recover something less than two millions, which it has finally agreed to pay itself! This sum has to come out of Northern pockets, that Slaveholders may have wider range wherein to fatten the infernal monster, whose meat and drink is the flesh and blood of men. The debt, moreover, will have to be paid by a duty on imports, which ensures us a tariff for the next twenty years at least. This tax falls upon the consumer, and profits nobody but such men as Abbott Lawrence, and Nathan Appleton, who are engaged in the manufacture of cotton cloths; and will not trouble the Slaveholder, who will take precious good care that the luxuries he wants for his own use, and the two suits a year of the coarsest material which he allows his Slave, shall not be enhanced in price by any onerous duty. The middling class of the North will have to foot this bill, for the joint benefit of the "Lords of the Loom," and the "Lords of the Lash." No wonder Abbott Lawrence fraternizes with the Slaveholder. If the war could be paid for by a direct tax, there would be little danger of another such national swindle very soon, especially for such an infamous purpose; but of that there is no hope.

A MODEL REFORMER.—William S. Wait, of Greenville, Bond county, Illinois, who was nominated at the recent Convention of the "Vote-Yourself-a-Farm" party, as a candidate for the Vice Presidency, has declined the nomination. In his reply to the letter apprising him of the choice of the Convention, he says, "I could not overcome my reluctance to run upon a ticket with a man who has been selected by a party, however respectable or meritorious, as the exponent of principles or measures, with which it is impossible for me to coincide." The man and party referred to are Gerrit Smith, and the Liberty Party. Mr. Wait believes in having the Land free to settle upon, but does not think it best to have every body free to settle. He believes in the rights of Labour, but denies the rights of a portion of Labourers. The creed of this Free Land party is evidently not comprehensive enough for some of its members. It should be not simply "Vote Yourself-a-Farm," but Vote-Yourself-a-Farm, and "niggers" to work it.

THE CHRONOTYPE does Frederick Douglass the justice to say that it does not believe he could be bribed to violate his conscience by "so forlorn a nomination" as that of the Liberty League for the Vice Presidency, or even by the office itself. It denies that it expressed any suspicion that he could be so bribed, and asks us to quote its words. Here they are:

"Had Mr. Douglass been a citizen of another State, and thereby constitutionally qualified for, the office, it is probable that the Convention would have done more to put to the test his resolution not to swear to support the United States Constitution."

We are glad to be assured that the editor of the *Chronotype* did not mean what these word imply. A "test," however, according to Walker, is a trial to prove the genuineness of a thing.

THE ALBANY PATRIOT heretofore the organ of the Liberty League, is discontinued. A new paper entiled the *Model Worker*, is to be started at Utica, with which the subscribers to the *Patriot* are to be supplied, and which we presume, therefore, is to advocate the same principles.

"During the week of the recent statutes," says the *Stamford Mercury, England*, "upwards of £3,000 was paid into the Lincoln Savings Bank by agricultural servants, and it appears that labourers have in the bank deposits ranging from £100 to £3,00."

These are the poor of England who, it is said, would be glad to exchange places with the American slaves.—A Savings Bank would do a large business among the "agricultural servants," of South Carolina!

HONOURABLE CHARLES HUDSON, M. C., from Massachusetts, will accept our thanks for a copy of his speech on the Constitutional Power of Congress over the Territories, and the right of excluding Slavery therefrom.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Boston Correspondent.

No. XXXIV.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Fourth of July.—Cannons and Crackers.—Explosive Ethics.—The Correspondent suggesteth an Inquiry to the Learned.—He abuseth the Hard Summer.—But doth justice to the Fourth.—The Floral Procession.—Its objects and effect.—The Cars.—The Grove.—The People.—The Meeting.—The Speakers.—The Topics.—The Barnburners and Young Whigs.—Justice to all sides.—The American and Foreign Proclamation.—Natural effect of Self-preservation.—The wreck of the Raft.—The Millstone.—Ill odours insuparable.—The change desired and arrived.—Natural shape of Anti-Slavery political Movement.—Return home.—Improvement and concluding Reflections.—&c., &c., &c.*

BOSTON, July 7th, 1848.

Although I wrote to you only last week, still I suppose you would like to know how the Fourth passed off with us, at our Gathering at Abington. So I will proceed to give you a succinct account of the same, and its precedents and concomitants.

The old "Rum-soaked, Powder-smoked Anniversary" was ushered in by the usual din of bells and explosion of cannons and crackers. Great complaint is often made of this latter infantine artillery, and the youngsters are sometimes arrested for the crime of indulging in the natural instinct of American Youth for gun-powder. And at the same time, great, lubberly, hulking men are allowed to split the ears and crack the windows of the lieges, with their Hundred Guns for the Election of Polk, or the Nomination of Taylor, as the case may be! There is no justice in it. The bigger the boys and the louder the noise, the more condign should be the punishment. There was plenty of this sort of uproar this year. By the way, it would be a very pretty enquiry for a Natural Philosopher—the Causes, Nature, and Purposes of the Powder-burning element of Human Nature. How did mankind rejoice aright before Roger Bacon, or Schwartz, or the Devil, or whoever it was, invented gun-powder!

The day was, fortunately, a fine one. It had been preceded by a series of wet, ill-conditioned days, of which we have had so many during this Hard Summer. There are so many people, small and great, to whom this is almost their only holiday, and who look forward to it, and back upon it, during the whole year that intervenes, that one would be ill-natured not to be glad when the weather is fine. What, to do it justice, it generally is on the Fourth of July. As I was going to the cars, I met the Floral Procession, which has quite grown up into one of the Sights of the Day. It is a procession of the children of the Warren-street Chapel, a Free Unitarian Church, assisted by delegates from other Sunday Schools, carrying baskets of flowers and *bouquets*, which they sell in the Public Garden, at the foot of the Common, and the proceeds go to the funds of the Chapel. It is accompanied by bands of music, and interspersed with platforms on wheels, bearing young ladies in various mythological or allegorical characters. The effect of these on the spectators is pretty enough—and we will not now inquire too curiously into the effect upon the young performers. The prettiest sight was the little girl, about six years old, who led the procession, on horseback; her steed, as well as herself, trapped and adorned with flowers of all hues.

At the Old Colony Depot, I found a large company, which ten cars of the largest size could not comfortably accommodate. But, on such an occasion, all were content to be incommoded a little, and we reached the Grove about eleven. The Grove I described two years ago, in giving an account of the First of August, which was held there. But as I cannot hope that your readers bear it in mind (especially as I have forgotten it myself), I will say now, if I did not then, that it is simply the prettiest Grove in the world. It juts into a beautiful pond, which surrounds it on three sides, and contains a remarkable variety of surface in a small compass. The effect of the audience as it clustered upon the rising ground about the platform, of the groups which sat or strolled under the trees on the edge of the water, and of a gliding sail which flashed to and fro upon its surface, was uncommonly picturesque. The company in attendance was unusually large. At least as large a train as ours came from Plymouth, and the outskirts of the Grove were full of the "leathern conveniences," which brought the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns upon the ground,—and, as to Abington, it seemed to have assembled as for a Mass Meeting. There might well have been Five Thousand, in all, that were present at different times during the day.

Mr. Garrison was called to the Chair, and made an excellent introductory speech. The other speakers, during the morning and afternoon, were Messrs. William J. Bowditch, Mellen, Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Atkinson, Brown, Pillsbury, Buffum, and Miss Lucy Stone, recently of Oberlin Institution, now an agent of the Massachusets Anti Slavery Society. It was the first time that many of the Abolitionists had had an opportunity of hearing this young lady, and they seemed greatly content with this taste of her quality. Her accession is a most timely and valuable addition to our lecturing force, at this critical time. The audience were extremely attentive, and the speeches, generally, extremely good. The topics were such as the Occasion naturally suggested. The contrast between what the Day had actually brought forth, and what was hoped of it; the Inconsistencies and Crimes of the American People; the Organizing of Slavery into the Constitution of our State, and into the Canons of our Church; the Great Lie which is proclaimed on every Sunday, but especially on this National Sabbath, and lived out, in the National Life, throughout the land; the only Remedy for the Guilt of the North, and the only Deliverance from the political and moral evils brought upon us and upon the Slaves, by the Slave System,—the Disunion of all Constitutional or Ecclesiastical ties which bind us, to give physical support or moral countenance to Slavery; all these and more, were fully and ably set forth and illustrated.

The present interesting aspect of the political parties came in for its full share of consideration. The attitude of the Barnburners and of the Conscience Whigs was admired and praised, and cordial satisfaction expressed at the tendency now manifested towards the formation of an Anti-Slavery political party out of the better portion of the existing parties. A satisfaction, however, arising not so much from any expectation of the success of such a party, or of any substantial advantage from its success if obtained, as from the belief that this experiment will help to satisfy all honest men engaging in it, that it is vain to attempt any resistance to Slavery, in a Union and under a Constitution which exist only by the concession of the powers of Government and of the right of the Non-Slaveholders, to the Compact Aristocracy of the Slave-masters. While full justice was done to the honesty, spirit and courage of the Anti-Slavery malcontents of the two parties, the wide distinction between Political Movements having for their object the restraining of Slavery within "Constitutional limits," and Constitutional territory, and the Moral Movement which aims at the Annihilation of Slavery, wherever it exists, whether Constitutionally or not, and at our own deliverance from the guilt of sustaining it, in the Union or out of the Union, was pointed out and enforced. And the sufficiency of our principle of "No Union with Slaveholders" for the accomplishment of our own deliverance and that of the Slave, if not too late to accomplish either, was vindicated and recognized.

I see that the American and Foreign Committee have issued their proclamation against Occasional Conformity and enjoining upon all the true sons of the Third Party Church to hold fast to the Faith delivered to them of old. It is no wonder that these gentlemen should wish to keep the planks of the raft together which alone has enabled them to keep their heads above water, since they made their escape with our Flag and Cargo, from our good Ship, after their vain attempt to scuttle her. But it will be labour in vain. The evil repute of the men who set the Third party on foot, and who have made themselves prominent in its affairs, has hung like a millstone about its neck. Not all the respectability which such men as Sewall, and Fessenden, and William Jackson, and Chase could bring to it, could overcome the ill-odour which those individuals had imparted to it. Not all the perfumes of Arabia could sweeten it. The party is ripe and impatient for a change, and for such a change as is now brought to it. Here is a political movement, having in view the professed objects of the Third Party, led by men of unblemished characters, whose personal honour is above suspicion, whose sincerity and disinterestedness cannot be doubted, and whose abilities are beyond question of the first order. It is a state of things which multitudes of the Third Party have long desired to see, and of which they will not fail to avail themselves. The national leaders of an Anti-Slavery political movement have now appeared, and they will, necessarily, draw unto themselves all in affinity with themselves. It is a matter of rejoicing that the experiment of political Anti-Slavery is at last to be tried under favourable circumstances. It is an inevitable step in the progress of the Anti-Slavery sentiment which is to abolish Slavery, and it is well, that it is to be well taken. I do not believe that it will ever be taken *backwards*.

We were disappointed of our train at the time appointed, and did not get to town till half past nine o'clock. But the success of the day had been so entire, in all material points, that we submitted with a good grace to this incidental inconvenience. Our journey homeward was enlivened by songs, and shortened by friendly discourse, and we had the satisfaction of knowing that we, at least, had spent a rational and useful day, and had taken no part in the liturgy of Humbug with which the land had resounded from the St. Lawrence to the Del Norte. D. Y.

Foreign Correspondence.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

William Martin of Cork.—His opinion of Giddings's Speech.—The Correspondent's thereof.—His fears and hopes.—His opinion of the American people.—The cause.—Its difficulties.—Dangers and encouragements.—Mitchel.—The Packed Jury.—Course of the Government.—Character of the Agitation.—An American's prescription for Irelrnd's troubles.—Bible Christianity. An Irishman in America.—Sound opinion of Archbishop Whately.

DUBLIN, 22d of June, 1848.

MY DEAR GAY:—Do you kuow William Martin of Cork? You must have heard of him. It was he who made a teetotaller of Father Mathew. He is a firm old fellow, 77 years old, an inveterate temperance man, ferocious against alcohol in all its forms, a fanatical believer in cold water, "a member of our Society," a true Quaker of the George Fox stamp, a staunch abolitionist and friend of every good cause. I had a letter from him, a day or two since, in which he says, "I find by some Liberators I have got lately, that Giddings and one or two more made speeches in Congress, which, I hope, will shake that "sum of all villainy" in the United States. They did my heart good, but particularly the speech of Giddings. The cause must be advancing when he was *allowed* to utter such bold and uncompromising language in the hearing of the vilest beings on the face of the earth. Theobald Mathew (he would not say *Father* Mathew for the world) is about going to Dublin for a few weeks, for medical advice, it is said." I had not read Giddings's speech till I received my venerable friend's letter. I have read it now. It did my heart good, too—more than any speech I have read for many a year. I am no critic—have never written for the Reviews—but if that speech be not eloquent, I don't know what eloquence means. It is hearty, vigorous, fluent, true, well put together, courageous, and rightly spoken in the right place. It was a glorious speech. I would walk fifty miles to see this Joshua, who so nobly bearded the marshalled hosts of your Pandemonium. No boy, when he reads Paradise Lost for the first time, can help feeling some sympathy for the prostrate wretches, "rolling in the fiery gulf"—but I confess to a feeling of unmingled satisfaction in picturing to my mind's eye the blistering that those black-hearted Southrons must have experienced, whilst laving in the flood of your gallant countrymen's fiery eloquence. He has acted "Freedom's manly part," and taking Whittier's advice he has "scattered the living coals of truth on the nation's naked heart," so that if any sense of shame be left in it—if it be not irretrievably callous, it must respond to the wholesome torture. There is hope for a people where such truths may be spoken, and must be listened to in the assembly of its representatives. I have latterly felt very much depressed in view of the position of the Anti-Slavery cause amongst you. I find it difficult to reconcile the anticipations of its friends and advocates with the shocking fact that the United States are, at this present moment, rejoicing in the successful issue of the most infamous war ever waged—

ful sight the sun ever shone upon. From your Anti-Slavery gatherings I would conclude that the cause of common sense is extending its empire, and that the sympathy of the best portion of the American people is all on the side of the slave. When I read your political papers, or the Pro-Slavery Column, and the Refuge of Oppression, my reflections are deplorable. Your country presents the grandest experiment of liberty the world ever saw. Words cannot picture your shame if the slave driver and the slave breeder be allowed to mar it for the maintenance of his infernal "rights," which he asserts with such horrible effrontery. Viewing your proceedings at this distance, and with no means of forming any opinion of your position, except your newspapers, I can readily conceive how prodigious the difficulties in the path of the abolitionist, and that nothing could keep up his heart in the prosecution of this mighty struggle, but the maintenance of his faith in the better day which awaits your country and the world, which the oppressor has shall be removed. It seems very natural that many plans should have been tried—that many of the early soldiers in this army of devoted labourers should have fallen away—and that the depression of hope deferred should often make the hands hang down, and weaken the knees even of those who persevere. It is plain, however, that you who are on the spot, are able to appreciate signs of encouragement, which are not so clear to those on this side of the Atlantic; and assuredly the delivery of such a speech, like that of Giddings in the House of Representatives, is a sign of the times that might gladden the heart of Heumocritus, or of the Knight of the sorrowful countenance.

I believe it is about three weeks since I wrote to you last. We were then in the midst of all the excitement of Mitchel's trial. It ended the evening of that day in a verdict of guilty, which on the following day was followed by the terrible sentence of transportation for fourteen years. His case excited great sympathy on the part of numbers who had not the slightest sympathy with his objects, or his cause. He comported himself throughout with great dignity, calmness, and consistency. He was no self-seeker. He was a martyr to his views of the best means (a bloody, blundering plan it was) of promoting the best interest of Ireland. His cause was disgraced by neither mendicancy or blarney. He never bowed to the priests (who therefore did not like him,) nor picked the people's pockets. He seems to have said no more than he meant; but this is more than could be said for the rest of his party. They have indulged in gasconading to such an extent that nobody minds a word they say. Mitchel's mind was filled to insanity with the idea of hatred to England and the desire to cut the connexion between the two countries. He seemed to look on a separation from England as the panacea for all Ireland's evils. With the true zeal of a fanatic he closed his eyes to all the difficulties in the way—the religious and political differences, the class interests, and the natural weakness sure to result from such discordant elements. Still there was something great in the single-heartedness, bravery, and devotedness of the man, most remarkable in an Irish agitator. He was the very antipodes of O'Connell, without a tithe of his talent, with one hundred times his honesty. Then again he was tried by a packed jury. That is to say, the men who tried him were in effect selected by the crown, who thirsted for his conviction. The list of persons liable to serve as jurors in Dublin consists of two-third Roman Catholics, and one-third Protestants. The panel, or list of jurors selected by the sheriff, (an officer appointed by the crown), for the present trial, consisted of five-sixth Protestants, and one-sixth Roman Catholics. In Ireland, if a Protestant, it is ten chances to one you are not a repealer, and *vice versa* with the Catholics. In striking or selecting the jury from the panel, every Catholic was objected to by the crown; a Protestant jury was selected, and a conviction secured. That he was guilty, according to law, there was no doubt—in fact, he hardly affected that he was not. But inasmuch, as every man is entitled to a jury, indifferently selected from the panel, and not confined to those who are certain to convict him, Mitchel had not a fair trial. In order to crush him, the Government was obliged to resort to an unconstitutional proceeding, which is of a piece with the whole curse of the English Government in its fiercest struggles with the disaffected spirit that prevails amongst the Irish people. In my opinion, the conduct of the Government, throughout all the excitement and sedition, has been marked by extraordinary forbearance, and an anxiety to maintain their position with as little violence as possible. But they have to deal with unscrupulous opponents, whom, on the present as on former occasions, they have foiled with weapons like their own.

The whole course of this agitation has been perfectly disgraceful to all concerned; it has been attended by such bootless bragging and boasting of all they would do. I would suppose that a sensible conspirator would keep his designs to himself—that he would not forewarn those he meant to outwit—publish his plans in the newspapers, and placard them in the streets—and then complain of his adversary's prudent measures for securing self-preservation. This is literally the course pursued by Young Ireland, and of course it has happily ended, as it deserved to do, in the completest discomforture. Mitchel, who is only about thirty-three years of age, was torn away from a young wife and a large family, and has been sent, as a convicted felon, to Bermuda, where the English have a penal settlement. Immediately on his conviction, a large subscription was entered into for his family, and this is the only practical thing I have heard of his party *doing*, from first to last. Between the time of his conviction and his sentence, he addressed a farewell letter to one of the Young Ireland Clubs of which he had been president, which was, I think, one of the most remarkable productions I have ever seen when considered with a view to the writers circumstances. Nothing of his own position, nothing of his destiny, nothing of himself, it was as full of the object of his life, and of the best means of attaining it, as if he were a general in the midst of an unconquered army. Amongst the boasts that preceded his trial, it was said by the clubs, that if convicted, he should never be removed from the country unless over the bodies of the people. But this threat was as vain as all the rest. Not a finger was raised to prevent his removal to the ship that conveyed him to the convict station in Cork Harbour, from whence he was shortly after conveyed to the Bermudas. This tendency to swaggering boastfulness is a most contemptible and disgraceful malady, and I wish with all my heart that Jonathan and Paddy were cured of it. At the sale of Mitchel's furniture and effects, which took place in a few days after the trial, for the benefit of his family, great enthusiasm was evinced. A pike head worth two shillings brought a guinea, books worth two pence brought twenty times as much, furniture, such as sofas, desks, &c. twice or three times what they were worth, and so forth.

The result of the whole matter on a more extended scale is, that Conciliation Hall (O'Connell's Hall) the head quarters of Old Ireland, is closed for want of funds—the weekly subscriptions having dwindled to £12; the Confederation are as quiet as mice, and a proposition for a union between Old and Young Ireland who have hitherto (like all factions and parties,) abused one another like pickpockets, has fallen to the ground—for the Catholic Bishops, or some of them have forbid the bans, and John O'Connell, than whom there never was a more obedient son of the Church, has turned tail at the eleventh hour. The natural result of all this comedy is, that Ireland which is hardly known to the England of the present day, except through her distresses, her turmoil, her crimes and her absurdities, affords a perpetual feast to the wicked wits of the British journals—and it is apparently utterly unknown to them that half a dozen reasonable men are to be found in the native land of Burke, Grattan, Plunkett, and Wellington.

I lately saw a letter addressed to a friend of mine in Dublin by a benevolent and philanthropic American, in which he expatiates on the means he would recommend in order to bring Ireland in a state of moral and political health. I allude to it as an instance among many of the incongruous remedies frequently proposed by physicians, who had had no opportunity of investigating the diseases and constitutions of the patients for whom they volunteer to prescribe.

The upshot of his paper is, that as the people of the United States, whose benevolence to the suffering Irish is the result of Bible Christianity, are Bible Christians, in consequence of the plentiful supply of public and common schools, so in Ireland a similar result might be anticipated from a similar abundance of the same good things. The dear good man little knows how hard a task the Government have had of late years to establish common schools—or "national schools" as they are called in Ireland—and what a bone of contention the Bible has been made in connexion with them. The Romish clergy did all they could (and that is a good deal) to embarrass and obstruct the schools where the Bible was read without note or comment; and then when, to please them, a selection from the Scriptures was made, leaving out everything that could lead to controvesy, the Church clergy and (from factious motives,) many of the Protestant gentry who did not care a fig for the Bible, raised an outcry against the mutilation of the Scriptures, that has not ceased yet. Not long since, I saw an article in one of the Young Ireland papers denouncing the national schools as agents of national subjection, though not a shadow of a reason was given for the imputation. Nobody who does not live in Ireland can have a notion of the bad use made amongst us of the most sanctimonious pretences. I don't know whether I ever told you of a circumstance that happened to a friend of mine who stopped in one of our streets to enquire the cause of a crowd that had collected about some people fighting. "Ah! Sir," was the reply of one of the bystanders, "They are fighting about one of the foolishest things in the world. They are fighting about *religion*." And so it is. The things that we most neglect in Ireland are often those we had better mind. And as to those that we fight about, they are generally the most foolish, no matter what name they go by.

I should tell you that your benevolent countryman, the Bible Christian—who, by the way, thinks every Irishman should have "a Bible and a rifle!!"—gives his willing testimony to the fact that our countrymen who emigrate to the United States, speedily become useful and respectable citizens. No wonder. There is a wide difference between the abundance that prevails with you, and the struggle that goes on here for the means of existence. I recommend every poor young man who is willing and able to help himself, to go to America. I am sure it is the only chance they have for independence and prosperity. I had a letter this day from a young man who was in my employment here, and is now in the United States. He says "An Irishman can do well any where except in his own country, and all he can do there is to starve. And why do they starve while there is both corn, balm, and physician here? This surely is a great country. There is one thing I notice in the journeyman printers of this city—an independent spirit. A man here would not take a day's work, or hardly a week's. Unless he thought he would be employed for a month, he would not work at all. In Dublin, half a dozen men would be running a race for even half an hour's work." This is a true picture, and I congratulate my correspondent that such a change has taken place in his experience.

A few evenings ago, I attended the last meeting for the season of a Statistical Society lately established for the cultivation and study of political economy chiefly with reference to Ireland. It contains among its members many of our most distinguished men, and the celebrated Whately, Archbishop of Dublin is the President. On this last occasion, the Archbishop delivered an address in which he uttered the true, though singular opinion for one of his cloth, (but he is no common man) that no amount of religion or morality will save a country from the evils resulting from incorrect views of political economy. This is no more than has been repeatedly declared by the Abolitionists when they say that no profession of religion or morality avail a doit to any nation who lay the foundation of their prosperity on the infernal marl of the slave system which is sure to swamp morality, religion, honesty, decency, political economy, prosperity, and common sense all together.

Yours ever truly,

RICHD. D. WEBB.

Notes on New Books.

France: Its King Court, and Government: By an American. Leonard Scott, 79, Fulton St.

The publisher of this pamphlet, Mr. Scott, announces that he re-publishes it at the solicitation both of the political friends and opponents of General Cass; one party desiring it to show the sympathy of the Democratic candidate for the Government of Louis Phillippe, the others that the public may know precisely the measure of the admiration for the late French Monarchy of General Cass. We wish, for our own part, that no greater sin could be laid to his charge then praise elicited ten years ago of the administration of the French King, and no greater inconsistency than his sympathy for the Revolution of 1848. It is his sympathy for tyranny at home, and now, that should render him unworthy of the regard and respect of all honourable and honest men. The work, however, will doubtless have a large sale, and we subjoin the terms on which it is published by Mr. Scott.

"Single copies, 25 cents. 5 copies and upwards, 20 cents each. 25 copies and upwards, 18 3-4 cents. 50 copies and upwards, 16 2-3 cents; or $16 a hundred. Money remitted by mail, either in coin or Bank notes, to be *post paid*. The TRADE supplied on liberal terms."

The Christian Examiner for July, Boston: Crosby and Nichols.

A well written and exceedingly interesting article upon Joan of Arc, made up from various foreign publications, is the leading article. From the initials we take it to be by Rev. J. F. Clarke. A temperate but strong paper, on the Water-cure by—we presume—Mr. Wm. P. Atkinson, will be read with pleasure, by the advocates of the Hydropathic system, who may congratulate each other upon its admission into a Journal of the circulation and character of the *Examiner*. The other principal articles are the Dudleian Lecture of Dr. Gilman, and the address of Dr. Dewey before the Unitarian Association in May. But besides these, are various brief, but candid and discriminating reviews and critical notices of recent publications.

A History of the Mexican War, or Facts for the People, showing the relation of the United States Government to Slavery: By Loring Moody. Boston; Bela Marsh 25 Cornhill.

We are glad to know that the sale of this well-arranged compendium of valuable facts has been such as to authorize the publisher to issue a second edition. Mr. Moody has done the cause good service in its compilation, and its wide circulation in the present crisis is very desirable. A few copies can be had at this office.

The Anti Slavery Harp: A Collection of Songs. By Wm. W. Brown. Boston: Bela Marsh.

Mr. Brown has supplied with great good taste and judgment a want that has long been felt for a good Anti-Slavery song Book. The Harp contains the best songs of previous publications, with many that have not before been published.

To Correspondents.

T. T. S. Such an article would be timely, and we shall be glad to receive it. That of last week we have been obliged to defer till our next issue to make room for others that could not wait so well.

G. H. We credit the money sent according to his explanation, though there was 25 per cent. discount on the bill.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry*: To the Trailing Arbutus; Snow Drop in the Poor Man's Window. *Miscellany*: Anecdotes of Thomas Scattergood and his Times; Extracts from the Memoirs of William Ellery Channing; Distress among the Royal Classes; Do the Boys Hail; A Sham Napoleon. Gleanings from Foreign Publications

FIRST PAGE.—*Selections*: Emancipation; Address of the Democratic State Convention; People's Convention at Worcester.

SECOND PAGE.—*Communications*: To Wendell Phillips.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

SEVEN DAYS

LATER FROM EUROPE.

Arrival of the Caledonia.

The Caledonia arrived at this port on Sunday morning.—We give a brief but comprehensive summary of her news, which will be found interesting.

FRANCE.—The latest reports by the steamer state that Paris was almost in a state of insurrection again—that the Government had resigned—that barricades had been erected, and that the troops and the people were engaged in a desperate and bloody struggle. Whether this be true or not it is certain that great excitemest exists in Paris, and that the Bonaparte mania is on the increase. Louis Napoleon had resigned his seat in the Assembly, on the plea that he would not allow his name to be instrumental in fomenting disturbance and discontent. A number of papers have been started to advocate his course, and the enthusiasm among the people, in his behalf, increases. The following is his letter of resignation. It was read in the Assembly, and caused a great sensation:

LONDON, June 15, 1848.

"M. LE PRESIDENT:—I was proud to have been elected Representative of the People of Paris, and in three other departments. It was, in my opinion, an ample reparation for thirty years' exile and six years captivity. But the injurious suspicions to which my election has given rise, the disturbances of which it was the pretext, and the hostility of the executive power, imposes upon me the duty to decline an honour which I am supposed to have obtained by intrigue. I desire order, and the maintenance of a wise, great, and enlightened Republic, and, since I involuntarily favour disorder, I tender my resignation, not without regret, into your hands. Tranquility, I trust, will now be restored, and enable me to return to France as the humblest of citizens, but also as one of the most devoted to the repose and prosperity of his country.

"CHARLES LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

It is generally believed in Paris, that he will be re-elected.

The project of the new Constitution consists of 139 articles. The following are its main provisions:

"The head of the Republic is to be a President, nominated for four years by universal suffrage; any French citizen, thirty years of age, and of good character, is eligible to the office. A Vice President is to be elected by the National Assembly, which is to consist of 750 members, there being no other chamber. The Ministers are to be nominated by the President, and can be dismissed according to his will and pleasure. A Council of State is to be appointed out of the members of the Assembly, to consist of forty persons at least, and chosen by the Assembly itself, the office of that body being to consider and draw up the laws which it may be deemed by the Government advisable to bring in. The punishment of death is interdicted for political offences. Slavery is abolished in all the French colonies. The press is to be free and every man a right to print, and cause to be printed, whatever he pleases, subject to such guarantees to the State as may be deemed necessary. All religions are to be allowed in France, and the various ministers to be paid by the State. Public instruction is to be free, but subject to the superintendence of the State. Substitutes are to be interdicted in the army and navy. The National debt is declared sacred. Property is inviolable. Algeria is declared an integral part of the French soil, and is to be administered by laws peculiar to itself. The same is to take place in the other French colonies. Trials are to be public; the judges, where once appointed are to be permanent.

The Marquis of Boisy has made certain charges—what it is not stated—against Lamartine, which, it is supposed, will have to be publicly answered. Some papers, prepared by the conspirators of May 15, it is said, also compromise him.

Disturbances have taken place at La Creure and Boulogne among the workmen. The Government is busy with the question, how this class shall be dealt with.

ENGLAND.—On Tuesday, the 20th of June, Mr. Joseph Hume submitted the following motion to Parliament: "That this House, as at present constituted, does not fairly represent the population, the property, or the industry of the country, whence has arisen great and increasing discontent in the minds of a large portion of the people; and it is therefore expedient, with a view to amend National representation, that the elective franchise shall be so extended as to include householders; that votes shall be taken by ballot; that the duration of Parliaments shall not exceed three years; and that the apportionment of members to population shall be made more equal."

The motion was opposed by Mr. D'Israeli, who, called the proposed reform a "middle-class movement," and insufficient to the popular wants. After farther remarks by Mr. Forbes, McKensie, and Lord John Russell, the debate was adjourned to Friday the 23d.

The West India question came up for debate on the 22d. It was adjourned again till the following evening.

The Queen is reported to be making preparation for a visit to Ireland.

The Spanish Ambassador has been dismissed.

IRELAND.—We refer for the news from Ireland to the letter of our Dublin correspondent.

ITALY.—Rivoli has been abandoned by the Austrians, and entered by the Piedmontese. On the other hand, Vicenza has been taken by the Austrians.

On the 12th the King of Sardinia signed the act with three members of the Government of Milan, for the annexation of Lombardy to Sardinia.

ROME.—The Roman Parliament is in session. A law abolishing the censorship of the press has been promulgated. Attacks upon the Church, the Priests, the temporal power of the Pope, foreign powers or their ministers is punishable with fine and imprisonment. The Commissioners of War state that among the Austrian troops are one hundred Austrian ladies serving.

NAPLES.—The Capital is quiet, but the revolutionists in the Provinces maintain their ground. A Provisional Government is established at Cosenza and Basilicata, and the whole country seems to be in a state of insurrection.

The *Leipsic Gazette* of the 15th says that intelligence was received at Leipsic of riots at Prague on the previous day, in consequence of Prince Windischgrätz, the commander of the troops, refusing to give cannon and ammunition to the students. It appears that the Czech party had got up a demonstration on the 12th, and that crowds had assembled in consequence to listen to some inflammatory speeches from the leaders of the party. The result was as intended. The people, becoming excited, about mid-day assembled before the house of the commandant to give him a charivari. A body of grenadiers who were concealed within the place came forth; and the crowd having been uselessly summoned to disperse, blows ensued, which led ultimately to a general fight, and the raising barricades on the part of the people. The commandant, Prince Windischgrätz, caused the alarm to be beaten, and gave till four o'clock to the people to take down the barricades. The tumult, however, increased every minute, and fresh barricades were made. A mass of people attacked the house of Prince Windischgrätz, and the princess herself was killed by a wound in the head. prince ordered heavy guns to be brought out, and a strong cannonade took place, which lasted from five till ten in the afternoon.

The *Warsaw Zeitung*, says that at the moment the fatal shot was fired, the Prince with great dignity and calmness, advanced into the midst of them, and addressed them to the following effect:

GENTLEMEN:—If it is your desire to insult me because I am of noble birth, go to my palace and do there as you may think fit. I will even give you a guard that you may not be disturbed in your amusement. But if you act thus because I am commander of Prague, and purpose making a demonstration in front of this building, I tell you candidly that I shall prevent such a step with every means at my command. My wife now lies a lifeless corpse above stairs, and yet I address you in words of kindness. Gentlemen, do not drive me to severe measures.

Nevertheless, he was seized and dragged to the nearest lamp-post, and was about to be hung, when he was delivered by a company of grenadiers, who arrived just in time to save him.

Quiet was not restored till the 18th. In the meantime Prince Windischgrätz retired from the city, and entrenched himself upon the heights around it, whence he commenced a regular bombardment. The city capitulated on the 18th, after there had been great slaughter on both sides, and the most savage cruelty practised. One man was crucified, and the noses, ears, and, lips, of all those who fell into the hands of the insurgents were cut off. The city was again occupied by the Prince with the troops on the 18th.

The Emperor is still at Ipnspruck. He has issued an address promising to preside over a Constituent Assembly to meet at Vienna. He is reported however to have remitted large sums of money to England.

PRUSSIA.—A riot took place at Berlin on the 14th, which lasted two days, and became in fact an insurrection. The Arsenal was stormed by the people and taken, but order was finally restored on the 17th. The difficulty arose from a trifling collision between the people and military.

RUSSIA is gathering large armies on the frontiers.

Enfranchisement of Peasants.—The *National* says: "We have received a letter from St. Petersburgh, from which we make the following extract:—

Everybody here is expecting a great event. If we may believe the reports which are in circulation in the city, the Emperor last night summoned to his apartment the President of the Senate, the principal dignitaries of the empire, the Metropolitan, and the Ministers, and communicated to them his project immediately to enfranchise all the peasants from personal servitude. The peasants would then be in precisely the same condition as the Poles and the people of the Baltic. Most of those present are said to have received the project of the Czar with great warmth; but the Grand Duke Czarowitch, who is thought by all to be of a weak and irresolute character, backed by his uncle the Grand Duke Michael and a number of the chief nobles, is said to have insisted positively that things should remain in their present state.

POSTCRIPT!

SEVEN DAYS LATER.—ARRIVAL OF THE NIAGARA.

HORRIBLE SLAUGHTER IN PARIS!!

We delay our forms as they are about to go to press to announce the arrival of the Niagara in less than eleven days from Liverpool, with tidings of an attempted revolution at Paris, a bloody fight of four days continuance, and the horrible slaughter of TEN THOUSAND men, and the wounding of *twenty-five thousand* more. It is impossible, without delaying our paper another day, to give any of the details of this dreadful intelligence. The commencement of the rebellion, however, seems to have been an offensive, but misunderstood expression of a member of the Government, who was supposed to assert of a deputation of workmen, that they were slaves, whereas he said they were *not* the slaves of their spokesman, and could speak for themselves. The expression however, was repeated, and misrepresented, and made the signal for an insurrection. The insurgents entrenched themselves in the strongest positions, and were only dislodged or killed, after four days hard fighting, in which the attacking troops were the principal sufferers. The fighting commenced on Friday and continued till Tuesday. On Saturday an Assembly declared itself in permanent session, and the members of the Executive resigned. Among the killed were 14 General Officers, 6 Deputies, and the Arch-Bishop of Paris, who was shot while approaching the insurgents on an errand of mercy and peace. The rebellion was finally crushed, and Paris, at the last accounts, was again quiet.

General Items.

Abduction of Slaves—Their Recovery and Rescue.—A letter to the *St. Louis Republican*, dated Alexandria, Clark Co. Mo. June 7th says—"This county is just now in an unpleasant state of excitement, owing to the abduction of eight slaves, and their detention by citizens of Iowa. As soon as it was discovered, they were pursued and overhauled at West Point, Iowa. A trial was had, and the negroes delivered up, but the mob seized them, drove off their owners, and started with them in the direction of Burlington."

The late Isaac Baugher Esq. of Frederick county, Maryland, by his will liberated all his slaves.

Governor Shunk.—of Pennsylvania has resigned in consequence of ill health.

Hon. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, has taken ground in favour of Martin Van Buren and Free soil.

Mr. Emerson, at last accounts, was about to commence a series of six Lectures, in London on the "Mind and Manners of the Nineteenth Century."

A Van Buren Paper.—A paper is about to be established in Baltimore to advocate the election of Mr. Van Buren, and the doctrines of the Free Soil party.

Expensiveness of Mobs—The county commissioners of Philadelphia have paid $261,495, as the value of buildings and other property destroyed by the mob in that city in 1844. Several similar bills of expense are yet to be adjusted.

A negro named Sol or Solomon, who had been a runaway for nearly two years, has just been taken by the public officers of Natchez. He had his residence and all the stolen comforts of life, in a bayou, some miles beyond Natchez.

Manumitted Slaves.—The Rev. Mr. King, a Scotch minister residing in Canada West, has just passed through Cincinnati from the South, taking with him fourteen colored people, to whom he became heir by marriage He takes them to Canada, that he may there find them a home, and secure to them education and religious instruction.

Four Honest Men.—Mr. Buckingham, of the Boston Courier, Wm. S. Robinson, of the Lowell Courier, Lucius E. Smith, of the Hartford Courant, and the editor of the Cincinnati Atlas, have withdrawn from those papers because they could not consistently with their former principles and declarations, support Gen. Taylor for the Presidency.

Mr. John O. Wattles, of the Cincinnati, Philantropist and Reformer, is on his way to Lake Zurich, Lake County, where he designs, if the situation should prove to be suitable, purchasing a large quanity ot land for the purpose of testing the experiment of associative labour.

Married.

At Philadelphia, on the 28th ultimo, by Friends' Ceremony, JOSEPH G. HENSZEY, to REBECCA P. daughter of the late Dr. Alexander Knight.

In Lynn, on the 4th inst., by Rev. Mr. Sandford, Dr. ADDISON DAVIS to Miss HARRIET WIGGIN.

Died.

In this city, on the 4th instant, CHARLES G. FERRIS, late M. C., aged 56 years.

At Boston, NEHEMIAH PARSONS, Esq., President of the Hope Insurance Co.

In Taunton, Massachussetts, July 5, Maria, youngest child of Marcus Morton, Jr. of Boston, aged one year.

At Nahant, Mass., drowned, Hon. NATHANIEL P RUSSELL, of Boston.

In Kingston, Mass. July 5th, SARAH RUSSELL, only daughter of Rev. A. K. Pope, 4 months.

At New Bedford, Mass., July 6th, very suddenly, of croup, CHARLES L. W. son of Joseph and Sophia Ricketson, 2d, aged 19 months and 7 days.

In Burlington, Vt., 5th inst., Rev. O. W. B. PEABODY, pastor of the Unitarian society in that place, twin brother of the late Rev. W. B. O. Peabody, of Springfield, Mass.

In South Boston, on Saturday morning, June 24th, after a short illness of typhus fever, Miss DESIRE S. HARLOW, Teacher of the Asylum for the Blind, aged 26. Her remains were conveyed to Plymouth, her native place for interment. The cause of the Slave in particular, and of suffering and degraded humanity in general, has lost many a devoted supporter by death, but never a spirit more pure, a friend more disinterested, an advocate more faithful, a laborer more active and untiring, a witness more direct, a watchman more vigilant, than the deceased. Modesty and intrepidity, gentleness and firmness, serenity and zeal, loveliness and energy, were blended in her character beautifully and harmoniously. The bereavement is a great one to all her relatives and friends, and to the millions of sufferers to whom she was unknown, yet whose cause she espoused as devotedly as though she herself were in bondage. To her, the transitron is, beyond a doubt, an increase of felicity, and an extension of the sphere of her exceeding usefulness.—*Liberator.*

At Ashton Hall, near Birmingham, England, JAMES WATT ESQ., the last surviving son of the illustrious improver of the Steam Engine, in his 80th year.

NOTICES.

WANTED.—A place on a farm or at a trade, for an Irish lad, 15 years of age, who has recently arrived in this country. He is intelligent, active and willing to work, and would be a faithful and valuable apprentice to his employer.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE E. P. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the Baptist Church, in Norristown, commencing on Wednesday, the 9th day of August, and will probably continue during the next two days. To say to Pennsylvania Abolitionists, that this Meeting is an important occasion to our enterprise, is wholly unnecessary. Past experience has demonstrated this. We have only to urge upon them the duty of a punctual attendance upon its sessions. W. W. Brown, the well known and eloquent advocate of the slave's cause, and other friends from abroad, are expected to be present. But the attraction of the meeting, which we hope will bring together large numbers of our friends, is *the wants of the cause*, the importance of our enterprise; not to hear eloquent lips, or to meet distinguished strangers, but to deliberate and devise plans of action by which we may all work more effectively for the cause during the ensuing year; to strengthen our own and one another's hearts and hands. Business of importance, which should interest every member of the Society, will be transacted at the meeting, and we trust that none of the friends of the cause will permit a trifling reason to prevent their attendance.

JAMES MOTT, Chairman.

HAWORTH WETHERALD, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The sixth Annual Meeting of the WESTERN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at Salem, Columbiana county, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 16th, 17th, and 18th of August, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M.

Let a full representation of the slaves' friends come up on this occasion from all parts of the Great West. The political leaders are marshalling their hosts for a conflict. their followers are rallying by hundreds of thousands to the support of their party banners. Time and money and labour are expended to secure their object. And shall the friends of Freedom, whose faith should be strong in the power of Truth, be lukewarm and indifferent while politicians are so earnest in their labours, so untiring in their zeal? The events of the past year should encourage us to renewed effort, for every movement of importance which has been made, having a bearing upon the question of Slavery, foreshadows the destruction of the system, and the oppressors feel that it is so. The political parties will make a desperate effort to save themselves from the destruction their corruption has brought upon them; and the efforts of the Abolitionists to maintain and enforce the Right should be proportionally great. Arrangements should be made at the coming meeting to continue the Anti Slavery agitation by the lips of the living speaker, and to extend more widely the circulation of the Society's paper the Anti-Slavery Bugle. Let none of the friends who can be there, absent themselves for any light cause, for the presence of all, and the counsel of all is desirable.

Besides the friends of Liberty in the West who will be present on the occasion, HENRY C. WRIGHT and C. C. BURLEIGH, are expected to be in attendance and perhaps other representatives of the East.

LOT HOLMES,
Recording Secretary.

FIFTEENTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The undersigned, earnestly desiring the abolition of Slavery, have been led, by the strength of their wish, carefully to consider what means may be found sufficient for the accomplishment of this great and holy object. They find that Slavery exists through the selfishness, the ignorance, the cowardice, the hypocrisy of the people. If the nation could be made more conscientious, disinterested, courageous, enlightened, and true to its own political and religious principles, the work were done. Until enough nobility of spirit can be awakened in the land to make the clergyman, the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, the merchant and the politician, willing to renounce their hopes of worldly success, and see their respective careers of individual advancement closed up, apparently forever, by their allegiance to Freedom;—to make the women of the land feel themselves disgraced by their indifference to such a cause as this;—to make the Christians and citizens of the land willing to bear the suffering and odium consequent upon an adherence to the right against law and custom:—until this can be accomplished, the Southern slaveholders are upheld in their sin by the powerful support of Christian fellowship, social sanction, and civil participation.

We determine, therefore, to strike at once at the root of Slavery, by appealing to the hearts and consciences of men and withdrawing their allegiance from such shameful cruelty and wrong, by the continual presentation of the paramount claims of Freedom and Humanity. Union being strength, that fact decides us to co-operate with any whose principles prove them to be trustworthy; who make the abolition of Slavery their primary object; and who, in addition to their honesty of purpose, have sense and sagacity enough to make them safe coadjutors, by securing them from becoming the prey of the selfish set of hypocritical adventurers that every moral revolution calls forth. We find such a sufficient and trustworthy body nowhere but in the American Anti Slavery Society. Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings, assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party: and, speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. While calling on all to unite with it, it has ever, by the energy and rectitude of its progress, been free without license, and elective without invidiousness. It is not too much to say in its praise, that its cause and its course repel all but the wise, the good, and the bold from active co-operation with it, and brand with dishonour the hand that approaches it to make it the instrument of any selfish purpose. It has no local attachments, no partizan or sectarian partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose; while, at the same time, every observer notices how happily its labours prepare the way for every good work: for, though specific in its object, its great principle of *immediate individual reform*, without awaiting the gradualisms of party politics, legislative action, and judicial decision, is one of universal application.

This, therefore, is the mode of operation which commends itself to our reason and feelings. The agents and friends which such an association of necessity draws forth, are the ones that we wish to sustain. The periodicals that such an association employs are the ones that we wish to circulate. Is the councils of such a body where all persons have equal rights of membership, the *whole* collective energy and judgment are constantly in use, and the chances and means of success consequently doubled.

Hence we find it to be our duty, in preparing for the FIFTEENTH NATIONAL ANTI SLAVERY BAZAAR to commence in FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, on Thursday, DECEMBER 21st, to devote the funds then raised, to sustain the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in its sacred work of moral agitation and revolution in behalf of the enslaved, and confidently appeal to all good hearts EVERYWHERE, in aid of so noble an enterprise.

M. W. Chapman,	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Ann T. G. Phillips,	*Mary G. Chapman,*
Helen E. Garrison,	*Caroline Weston,*
Mary May,	*Susan C. Cabot,*
Eliza Lee Follen.	*Henrietta Sargent,*
Sarah S. Russell,	*Hannah Tufts,*
Louiza Loring,	*Eliza F. Meriam,*
Mary Young.	*Caroline F. Williams,*
Mary Wilder,	*Evelina S. A. Smith,*
Anne Warren Weston,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Maria Lowell,	*Ann R. Bramhall,*
Francis Mary Robbins,	*Harriet T. White,*
Lydia Parker.	*Abby Francis,*
Harriet B. Hall,	*Abby Southwick,*
Catharine Sargent,	*Harriet M. Jackson.*

All persons desiring the privilege of co-operating with us in this joyful and holy work, are informed that the pecuniary value of donations of money and materials, is doubled to the cause through the means of the Bazaar, by the care, skill, and ingenuity which are entrusted with their management.—*Supplies for the refreshment table are particularly desired.*

Friends of the cause aware of the advantages accruing to it from The Liberty Bell, are requested to forward their donations and articles *immediately*, or as soon as convenient.

Friends in England, Scotland, and Ire'and, are requested to address their contributions as usual, to MARIA W. CHAPMAN, care of A. W. Weston, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Contributions and letters from the American side of the Atlantic, hitherto addressed to M W. Chapman, may be addressed to ANNE W. WESTON.

Communications from friends in the country respecting lodgings for ladies intending to furnish tables, should be addressed to ELIZA F. MERIAM, Boston.

Members of the Committee who will be in Europe during the remainder of the year, will be most happy to receive donations for the purchase of choice and rare foreign articles for the Bazaar. Address CAROLINE WESTON, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Every friend who furnished evergreen for the decoration of the Hall last year, is entreated, for the sake of the cause, to continue the same good office, by *seasonably* gathering the requisite "running green," and red cedar trees, and bringing them to Boston, on Saturday, December 13th, thus allowing the indispensable three days before the 21st, for the arrangements.

WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The result of the effort made last year by the Abolitionists of the West, to hold an Anti-Slavery Fair, was abundantly gratifying; and fully demonstrated the practicability and usefulness of the plan. The Call was promptly responded to by many, the avails of whose labour greatly aided the Western Anti-Slavery Society, and enabled it to prosecute its work with renewed vigour. The exigencies of the cause demand as much sacrifice and effort now as were needed then. The victory of Freedom is not yet won—the clank of the bondman's fetters has not yet ceased—American women are still chattelized and imbruted. The blighting influence that Slavery has extended over the South and over the North, still exists—the Church is not yet purified of its iniquity, nor the State redeemed from its degradation. We, therefore, friends of the slave, appeal to you again—we appeal to your love of Liberty—to your reverence for the Eternal principles of Right; and ask you to bring this year another offering that may be used for the dissemination of Anti-Slavery Truth—for the increase of Anti-Slavery knowledge.

No inconsiderable portion of the donations at last year's Fair, was derived from the Farmer, the Mechanic, the Merchant and the Manufacturer—will they not be as generous now as then, and each give ungrudgingly and liberally that which he has to bestow? Articles that cannot readily be transported to the Fair, may, with a little effort, be converted into money, or exchanged for goods that can be carried.—Those who wish to aid in this work, need not be at a loss how to labour. Where Sewing Circles are not already in operation, may we not confidently hope they will speedily be organized, that their varied gifts of beautiful and fancy articles may not be wanting?

The special object of the proposed Fair is, to aid the Western Anti-Slavery Society; and all funds there received will be placed in its Treasury—no goods are solicited, and none will be sold for the benefit of any other object. Those who are willing to assist this Society in sustaining its various agencies for promoting Anti-Slavery agitation, for hastening the redemption of the enslaved, are earnestly invited to join us. We labour not for the advancement of any political party—for the furtherance of any measures that invoke the aid of brute force. It is by the strength of moral power we would tear down the strongholds of oppression—it is by establishing the righteous principles we would secure for all an inheritance of Freedom. If you who profess to be the friends of the slave, are really with us in this contest between Truth and Error—between Slavery and Liberty—we shall expect your cordial co-operation.

The Fair will be held at the time and place of the next Annual Meeting.

J. ELIZABETH JONES, Salem,
BETSEY M. COWLES, Austinburgh,
SAREPTA BROWN, New Lyme,
ELIZA HOLMES, Columbiana,
MARIA L. GIDDINGS, Jefferson,
LYDIA IRISH, New Lisbon,
JANE D. MCNEALY, Greenford,
REBECCA S. THOMAS, Marlboro,
MARIA WHITMORE, Andover,
MARY DONALDSON, Cincinnati,
ELIZABETH STEDMAN, Randolph,
HANNAH C. THOMAS, Mount Union,
CLARISSA G. OLDS, Unionville,
ANN WALKER, Leesville,
SARAH B. DUGDALE, Green Plain,
PHEBE ANN CARROLL, Ravenna,
HARRIET N. TORREY, Parkman,
ELLEN CLARK, Wadsworth.

Advertisements.

NEW BOOKS.

CAPTAINS' DRAYTON AND SAYRES: *Or the way Americans are treated for aiding the cause of Liberty at Home.* A penny Tract. Orders will be received at

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

TO THE TRAILING ARBUTUS.

The mellow sunshine floweth down,
Golden and wide on these warm swells,
Covered with all their quiet woods of brown,—
And over all, and in the distant dells,
The blue haze broods in silence.
Wandering here,
In the deep stillness of this April day,
Sweet flower once more
I find thee trailing all thy rosy-bells
Among the pale brown leaves of the last year.

'Tis luxury now, in this genial time,
To feel the warm air play
Over my brow as it was wont of yore.
It lingers for thy gift of fragrance near,
Then glides away,
Seeming a truant from some Summer clime
Which on us wide hath ope'd its golden door.

Of all thy sisters of the meadows far,
Widening out under the mellow sun,
Or that in woods and fields bright dwellers are,
There is not one—
Not e'en the downy wind-flower blue,—
That overjoys the heart with beauty more,
Or sends a sweeter thrill the spirit through,
Than thou;
Thy name doth ever unto me
Bring thoughts of early beauty silently,—
Of the sweet spring-time when, the winter past,
The flowers unfold at last.

April, 1848. H. W. G.

From Jerrold's Magazine.

THE SNOWDROP IN THE POOR MAN'S WINDOW.

It was a darksome alley
Where light but seldom shone,
Save when at noon a sun-ray touched
The little sill of stone.
Beneath the poor man's window,
Whose weary life was bound,
To waste at one dull, ceaseless task
The passing seasons round.

Spring's dewy breath of perfume,
And Summer's wealth of flowers,
Or the changing hue of Autumn's leaves
Ne'er blest his lonely hours:
He knew too well when Winter
Came bowling forth again—
He knew it by his fireless grate,
The snow, and plashing rain.

Pierced by the frost-winds beating,
His cheerless task he plied;
Want chained him ever to the loom
By the little window's side;
But when the days grew longer,
He stole one happy hour
To tend, within a broken vase,
A pale and slender flower.

How tenderly he moved it
To catch the passing ray,
And smiled to see its folded leaves
Grow greener every day;
His faded eyes were lifted oft,
To watch the snow-drop bloom,—
To him it seemed a star of light
Within that darksome room.

And as he gently moved it
Near to the sun-touched pane,
Oh! who can tell what memories
Were busy in his brain?
Perchance his home in childhood
In a sylvan valley lay,
And he heard the voice of the running streams,
And the green leaves' rustling play.

Perchance a long-departed
But cherished dream of yore,
Rose up through the mist of Want and Toil,
To bless his heart once more.
A voice of music whispered
Sweet words into his ear,
And he lived again that moonlight o'er,
Gone by for many a year.

Or but the love of Nature
Within his bosom stirred—
The same sweet call that's answered by
The blossom and the bird;
The free, unfettered worship
Paid by the yearning soul,
When it seems to feel its wings expand
To reach a brighter goal,—

An aspiration, showing
Earth binds us not her slave,
But we claim a brighter being,
A life beyond the grave.

Miscellany.

From the British Friend.

ANECDOTES OF THOMAS SCATTERGOOD AND HIS TIMES.

One of the memorable and honourable Friends of Philadelphia, at the time of the American Revolution, was dear, quaint, humorous, straight-forward, kind-hearted Anthony Benezet. An indefatigable labourer for the good of others, he was never idle when awake, and even restricted his hours of sleep, saying, in allusion to the usual period alloted for rest, "he could not reconcile a habit of such slothful indulgence, with the activity of Christian fervour." He was as quick-witted and as apt at repartee as Nicholas Waln himself, and his witticisms were generally instructive and playful. Benevolent to all—ever ready to furnish from his own store supplies for the needs of others, and moderate in his desires, he never acquired much property. Nay, restricted by the narrow bound of his own wants and wishes, he felt inclined to doubt whether the accumulation of a great estate was consistent with the self-denying religion of the cross.

If born to the inheritance of a large fortune, we know not how far Anthony's views of wealth might have been modified; nor how differently he might have acted if large possessions had been suddenly left him. We know, however, his actions were beautifully consistent with his theory; and though the opinions of men are liable under peculiar temptations to change, we trust he was too well grounded in Christian principle to have altered much in theory or practice.

There was once a young man who thought Christian philanthropy would lead to the charitable distribution by those in prosperous business of all their surplus revenue; and he frequently exclaimed, "That no man could be a Christian who had more than 30,000 dollars." This young man prospered in business, extended it under pretence of accumulating for charitable purposes, aimed at a princely fortune—became involved—failed to fulfil his engagements, injured hundreds by his fall, and established a most unenviable character amongst those he had wronged.

The testimony of Anthony Benezet against the love of riches had a deeper root; yet he knew that it was natural for young men to aim at that wealth which gave them influence and respectability in civil society. He saw no remedy for the evil but Christian principle, constraining to Christian moderation.

Some time before his death a great depression took place in Philadelphia in the mercantile community, and many of those who with little capital, had launched widely into business, as a natural consequence of the times, and their imprudence, became unable to meet their engagements, and disreputably failed. One who had received a large estate from his father, and had increased it by extensive trading in early life—who had long retired from business, and was living in affluence on his interests and his rents—was much concerned on the occasion. He once addressed some young people in the presence of Anthony, warning them u[illegible] seek to accumulate riches—pointing out the certain and serious consequences of failing in the attempt. By the time he had finished his remarks, Anthony's keen wit had presented a ludicrous picture to his mind, and a pleasant moral couched in it. He accordingly said, he had been reminded of a fable of an old mouse and a large Cheshire cheese. The mouse had succeeded in reaching the upper shelf in a closet, on which lay a fine Cheshire cheese. Here at leisure, and in the midst of plenty, he lived at ease. But there were many mice on the floor below, who wished to partake of the same comfortable abundance, and they busied themselves in vain attempts to scramble up the door posts, bruising themselves with many falls. In the meantime the old mouse would come to the edge of the shelf, and looking down on the poor starved things below, would remonstrate with them for their foolish efforts, assuring them if they continued, they would inevitably fall and break their necks!

No one was more earnest than Anthony to discourage covetousness, and an accumulating spirit, yet he could not resist the quick-witted perception of the absurdity of a rich man, living in the enjoyment of wealth, rebuking the desire of riches in others.

We have said that Anthony Benezet was an active, industrious man. He had no sympathy with that spirit which seems ever on the watch to evade bodily labour—to withdraw from exertion and toil. Some individuals—lazy in grain—loving ease, and luxuriating inactivity, have pled in excuse a conscientious dislike to hard work. One such person we have seen creeping at a gentle pace about the streets of Philadelphia, appearing as a perfect embodyment of indolence, set in motion by irresistible necessity, which he is nevertheless ever striving against. Ask him why he does not labour; why he is not actively and energetically employed? Raising his sleepy-looking countenance, he will tell you, while gleams of intelligence not wholly darkened by sloth light up his eyes, "That to perform all the daily labour of the world would occupy the men in it, if each did his own part, not over three of the twenty-four hours." He acknowledges himself then as a man, under the obligation of paying daily his "three hours" quota to the world's stock of labour, but declares he is conscientiously bound not to move a straw which belongs to the work of another—not to toil beyond the minutes he has calculated the world may rightfully claim of him. Such is his theory; his practice evinces the strength of his determination not to do *more* than his portion of the work. Such a theory would have stirred up Anthony Benezet's zeal, and would have called down on the avower of it his earnest rebuke. He knew that man was created for labour—that independent of pecuniary emolument, he was bound to work for his own bodily and mental benefit, and to be liberal in his exertions for the good of others. His own heart expanded towards all; he was willing to help, to labour for, and by every means in his power administer to the true comforts of those around him. Thus he knew he should best accomplish his duty as a man—thus best fulfil the law of Christ.

But though earnest and active, he was not a man to do things in a hurry. He loved to see persons whilst industriously attending to their occupations in this world, giving evidence that heavenly things had the pre-eminence in their affections, and in the direction of their movements.

One day whilst walking the streets of Philadelphia, he saw a man approaching him rapidly, who was habitually *in haste*. In reply to Anthony's call to stop, the man, as he hurried by, said, "I am now in haste, and will speak with you when we next see each other." Quick as thought the arrow of reproof was fitted to Anthony's keen bow of wit—"Dost thou think thou wilt ever find time to die?" The arrow was not shot at a venture; it reached the conscience of him to whom it was addressed—and he afterwards strongly expressed his obligation for the admonition.

Among his harmless peculiarities was one to which his sensibility—perhaps we might say, his morbid sensibility—of the suffering of the animal creation led him—and that was abstinence from meat as an article of food. It really seemed as though he felt a companionship with everything that existed, and so held their right to life, as to make it interfere with his following in his diet the custom of the world around—the example of the Saviour and his apostles of old. Being asked one day to dine with a friend, he looked at a dish of poultry on the table, and pleasantly said, as he turned to go away, "What! wouldst thou have me eat my neighbours?"

One of the principal occupations of Anthony's life was that of a schoolmaster. In a letter, the original of which he kept, as was his custom, sending a fair copy to his correspondent, we find him saying he had been so long engaged at that occupation, as to be then instructing the grandchildren of his first pupils. As a teacher he was kind and affable—ever ready to remove difficulties out of the way of the learner, and to encourage and promote with them the freedom of an affectionate intercourse.

He wrote and compiled many books, yet as an author he had little artistical talent. There was sound sense—there was enlarged humanity—in all his literary productions. He lacked not strength of argument; he gave expression to fervid bursts of feeling. But in his composition it mattered little which part was printed first, or where you began to read them; little of clear connected outline being discernable. They seemed like masses of good thoughts, susceptible feelings, enlarged views, strong arguments, heaped together, as they happened to arise in a discursive mind. Jacob Lindley, when quite young, raised his voice of thunder in our Yearly Meeting against the use and manufacture of spiritous liquors. This pleased Anthony much; he took Jacob home with him that day to dinner, and told him he was then engaged in writing on the subject which had been spoken on in meeting that morning. He then proposed that the young speaker should take a pen, and write a paragraph or two on the subject, promising to introduce what might be written into his book. Jacob declined the offer, neither deeming himself qualified nor called to labour with his pen for the good of others. The anecdote not only shows the desire Anthony had to encourage those he believed were rightly concerned to benefit mankind, but it also exhibits his willingness to introduce any good sentiments into his books, without reference to their incongruity with the style or general train of thought.

Anthony could not descend to use compliments to flatter the pride of a fellow man, a poor worm of the dust, whose only hope of eternal happiness depended on that humility which compliments and flatterers were fitted to destroy. His earnest expression of good-will and kind feeling, however, were generally acceptable to strangers, even to those most used to receive fulsome adulation, and those highly wrought phrases, which say much and mean little. He frequently visited Count de Luzerne, the ambassador from France, to enlighten him on the subject of abolition. A reciprocal interest was awakened in each other, and when the Count was about returning to his own country, Anthony thought it right to call and take a parting farewell. Many persons were gathered on the same errand, and Anthony retreated out of sight, where, unobserved, he listened to the compliments poured forth on the Count. When several had retired, he came forward and thus addressed his friend, "Thou knowest I cannot use the compliments which the company have expressed—but I wish thee the favour of heaven, and a safe return to thy country." "Oh! Mr. Benezet," said the Count, warmly embracing him, "you have exceeded them all!"

That he knew how to give a reproof very delicately, the following anecdote shows. Having called on one of his former scholars, then recently married, he was ushered into a room where he found her in full dress for a ball. He was surprised, but perhaps put rather more astonishment into his face and manner than he really felt, as in a plaintive voice he exclaimed—"My dear S———, I should not have recognised my amiable pupil, but that thy well-known features and excellent qualities are not to be hidden by so grotesque and lamentable a disguise!"

The usual gentleness and equanimity of his temper would sometimes be stirred to vehement zeal, when he found these abounding in riches manifesting a covetous disposition. He was wont to say, "the highest act of charity in the world was to bear with such unreasonableness of mankind."

He could be zealous, however, on other occasions. One of his brothers, an extensive merchant of Philadelphia, was a man of the world, fond of what he deemed a good joke, and not very scrupulous in his method of perpetrating it. He was called on one day by a foreigner, who solicited him to engage in a venture to Africa for slaves, and promised him an enormous pecuniary profit. He declined having anything to do with it himself, but said he could recommend a man who would be the very person for the business. He then described to the unsuspecting stranger his brother Anthony—furnished him the place of his residence, and told him to go and lay the subject before him. He will, said he, at first refuse to have anything to do with it; but you must continue to urge him, and at last he will agree with you. Off went the man to Anthony, unfolded his scheme, pressed him with earnestness to join in it—and having stirred up the zeal of his hearer, received such a severe rebuke, such an overwhelming torrent of honest, indignant invective, for his intention of depriving human beings of their liberties—of engaging in that which would spread murder and all the horrors of war in Africa, and crimes of the darkest die in America—that affrighted, the man fled complaining to the brother, who heartily enjoyed the whole narrative.

Anthony's heart was naturally open and generous; he would give the coat from his back, or the blankets from his bed, to relieve the suffering of others. His benevolence sprang from the fulness of feeling which made it a relief to him to give. Some others of natural penurious habits have only given from a sense of religious duty. Richard Reynolds confessed this was his case; and it has been said that it was Nicholas Waln's also. An anecdote of Nicholas Waln, published shortly after his death, in some of the public papers, and since often attributed to other persons, contains a narrative of a generous act, coupled with a little of his pungent wit. The account states that he noticed his wood-pile in the back of his yard rapidly and mysteriously diminishing, and on watching, found that a person living on a small street in the rear of his house was making free use of it. Believing that the man was really needy, the next morning Nicholas went to the wharf, bought a load of wood, and directed that it should be delivered at the door of his pilfering neighbour. The man came speedily round demanding the reason of the gift. "I did not want thee to break thy neck off my wood-pile," was the reply.

Anthony is said to have been at times truly eloquent in his appeals on behalf of the rights of the oppressed. At one time a proposition was before the Yearly Meeting, to make some new movement against Slavery. Some opposition was made, but Anthony rose up weeping, and in broken accents exclaimed, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." These words, with the feeling that accompanied them, silenced all opposers, and the proposition was adopted.

Ever active for the good of others, Anthony passed on his way, blessing the world by his exertions and by his example. On his death-bed he exclaimed, "I am dying; and feel ashamed to meet the face of my Maker, I have done so little in his cause!" "Alack! alack! we are poor creatures; I can take no merit for anything I have done. There is mostly something underneath that is selfish, which will not bear sifting." "I could wish to live a little longer that I might bring down self!" To his wife Joyce, to whom he had been a faithful and loving husband for forty-eight years, he said, "We have lived long in love and peace."

Many tears of real sorrow were shed when it was known through the city of Philadelphia, that Anthony Benezet was removed from the sphere of his charities on earth to the resting-place of the righteous. Many were the testimonies to his worth, which came forth from persons of every rank and station in society.

Rebecca Jones thus wrote from England: "The removal of that little, valiant man, Anthony Benezet, will be a sensible chasm—but I remember from whom he derived his qualifications—and that the Divine Fountain is inexhaustible. I feel as I should on the occasion, and for dear Joyce, who is not far from the same peaceable mansion."

Henry Drinker, writing to John Pemberton, says: "I expect thou wilt have heard before this reaches thee of the removal of our beloved friend and brother, Anthony Benezet, who peacefully passed away, full of years and full of honour, to a better inheritance. Where shall we find another Anthony Benezet—a man so uniformly and steadily engaged in promoting the real good and true happiness of his fellow-man? It was thus he was engaged, early and late. That the just man's path is a shining light, has I think been verified in the example of this pious man, whose love and good-will was of that enlarged kind, that all ranks and descriptions of men were the objects of his Christian regard and notice."

We are called to good works; yet our own deeds even those which seem most the product of genuine benevolence, will not purchase a place for us in the kingdom of heaven. Anthony Benezet had been long an open-hearted benefactor of mankind, yet in his last illness, he was kept by his Divine Master in a state of mind remarkably stripped of all dependence on former experiencec, and former faithfulness. The works of mercy he had been enabled to perform, gave him no satisfaction in review—and in poverty of spirit he lay, trusting alone to the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation. During this season, James Thornton paid him a visit, and in relation thereto afterwards said, "On entering the room, he had never been more deeply impressed with a sense of spiritual poverty than at that time." He was permitted to enter into sympathy with the dying man, who in a sense of inward want, was in humility and self-abasement drawing near the hour of his departure. At the time of the funeral James Thornton again entered the house—but oh, the change! "It felt to him as if it were divinely perfumed; something so like the opening of heaven—and a sense of the Divine presence as he had at no other time experienced!" Those good works and alms-deeds which through the aid of the Lord's Holy Spirit he had been enabled faithfully to perform, had been accepted of his master, and were even as a sweet-smelling savour poured forth. The Lord's gracious acceptance of his past labours, withheld from the perceptions of the dying man, lest being trusted in, it might hinder his heavenly progress, was now made manifest to the spiritually-minded in an extraordinary degree.

He died Fifth Month, 3d, 1784, aged seventy-one years.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MEMOIRS OF WM. ELLERY CHANNING.

By Wm. H. Channing—Published by Crosby and Nichols, Boston.

HIS BOYHOOD.

Among his playmates he seem to have been always noted for a certain greatness of character.—They called him "Peacemaker, and "Little King Pepin." He is described as having been small and delicate, yet muscular and active, with a very erect person, quick movement, a countenance that, while sedate, was cheerful, and a singularly sweet smile, which he never lost through life. When with companions, he was exuberant in spirits, overflowing with energy, ready to join heartily in all amusements, but never boisterous. He was much beloved by the children of the school and neighborhood, though even then acting as an exhorter; for he used to rebuke among them all profaneness or obscenity. But this was done with a gentle tone, that manifested rather sorrow than anger, and was well received. His character was thus early marked by mingled strength and sweetness, though by some accounts it would appear that he was by no means free from irritability. He loved power, too; and such was his sway, among even the quarrelsome, that when his voice was heard, persuading them to order, he was readily obeyed. Sufficient fire, however, was latent under his mildness to give him engergy.

HIS CHARITY, &c.

Among other mementos which indicate his thoughtfulness and disinterestedness, one may be worth noting, because it proves that he had instinctively adopted in early years the rule which strictly governed his manhood, of "letting not his left hand know what his right hand did." A man sick and in distress begged one day at the door. William observed him, but was silent and gave nothing at the time. When the beggar had gone, however, he was seen to follow him out, and to put into his hand some pieces of money, which must have been all that he had. It is remembered, too, that he used to visit a friendless and desolate old man in the neighbourhood, carrying with him such comforts as he could command; and interest generally in the poor, deference for the aged, and considerate regard for the feelings and rights of domestics in the family, gained for him the warm affection due to the liberal and loving.

The same gentle and kind disposition manifested itself in his treatment of animals, as, in a letter written soon after leaving college, he thus himself declares:

"Thanks to my stars, I can say I have never killed a bird. I would not crush the meanest insect which crawls upon the ground. They have the same right to live that I have, they received it from the same Father, and I will not mar the works of God by wanton cruelty.

"I can remember an incident in my childhood, which has given a turn to my whole life and character. I found a nest of birds in my father's field, which held four young ones. They had no down when I first discovered them. They opened their little mouths as if they were hungry, and I gave them some crumbs which were in my pocket. Every day I returned to feed them. As soon as school was done, I would run home for some bread, and sit by the nest to see them eat, for an hour at a time. They were now feathered, and almost ready to fly. When I came one morning, I found them all cut up into quarters. The grass round the nest was red with blood. Their little limbs were raw and bloody. The mother was on a tree, and the father on the wall, mourning for their young. I cried, myself, for I was a child. I thought, too, that the parents looked on me as the author of their miseries, and this made me still more unhappy. I wanted to undeceive them. I wanted to sympathize with and comfort them.—When I left the field, they followed me with their eyes and with mournful reproaches. I was too young and too sincere in my grief to make any apostrophes. But I can never forget my feelings. The impression will never be worn away, nor can I ever cease to abhor every species of inhumanity towards inferior animals.

IN COLLEGE AS A STUDENT.

The Rev. Dr. Pierce, his tutor in College, gives the following description of William, as a student: "I have a distinct recollection of him, as, at that time, a fine looking, healthy, muscular young man. But what I best remember was his excellence as a scholar. My department was the Latin language; and never shall I forget, while memory lasts, with what promptitude and elegance he rendered into English the passages from the classics which he was called to recite. I also heard his class in history. He was always in his place; and I invariably gave him the highest mark for good recitations. The government of the University were, I believe, unanimous in assigning him the first rank among his classmates. This, in a class containing such men as Judge Story, William Williams, Artemas Sawyer, Joseph Emerson, Dr. Tuckerman, &c., was no small honour."

HIS VIEW OF SLAVERY IN EARLY LIFE.

In 1798, Mr. Channing, at the early age of 19, was invited to become tutor in a family of Richmond, Va. At this time Virginia was in her prosperity, and scarcely beginning to reap the penalty which Slavery has since brought, in blasted fields, deserted mansions, ruined estates, and scattered families. And though speaking warmly of the hospitality and other virtues of the Virginians, they did not deaden his conscience, as in the case of others, they have too often done to the iniquity and miseries of Slavery. The following letter fully expresses the state of feelings:—

"There is one object here which always depresses me. It is *Slavery*. This alone would prevent me from ever settling in Virginia. Language cannot express my detestation of it. Master and slave! Nature never made such a distinction, or established such a relation. Man, when forced to substitute the will of another for his own, ceases to be a moral agent; his title to the name of man is extinguished, he becomes a mere machine in the hands of his oppressor. No empire is so valuable as the empire of one's self. No right is so inseparable from humanity, and so necessary to the improvement of our species, as the right of exerting the powers which nature has given us in the pursuit of any and of every good which we can obtain without doing injury to others. Should you desire it, I will give you some idea of the situation and character of the negroes in Virginia. It is a subject so degrading to humanity, that I cannot dwell on it with pleasure. I should be obliged to show you every vice, heightened by every meanness and added to every misery. The influence of slavery on the whites is almost as fatal as on the blacks themselves."

AN AMUSING ANECDOTE.

While at Richmond, he had under his charge twele boys, to whose care most of the hours of the day were devoted. In after years, he thought himself at this time too strict a disciplinarian. But he may have found a display of decision more necessary from his youth and smallness of size, of which an amusing illustration is given in the following ancedote, related by himself. An old colored woman came into the school to complain of some of the boys who had damaged her garden, broken her fence, and torn up her flowers, making loud complaints, and wanting to see the master. When he presented himself, she surveyed him for a moment, and said—"*You de massa?* You little ting, you can't lick 'em; dey put you out de widow." He assured her, however, that the boys should be corrected, and that she should be satisfied for her loss, remarking,—"Poor mamma! she knew no way of discipline but the *lash*."

From the London Spectator.

DISTRESS AMONG THE ROYAL CLASSES.

More of the royal classes thrown out of work!—Prince William is distinctly repudiated by the Prussians, at least for the present; and the Emperor of Austria has evaded. The pretext for the Emperor's evasion is that repose has become necessary for his health; an official newspaper, however, had just before declared that if he were to leave Vienna his departure would be like the flight of Louis Philippe; which had precedents again in the flight of Charles the Tenth and many more: on the other hand, the Emperor may be getting away from his revolutionary counsellors to return with more congenial aid—that of Russia; just as Ferdinand the First of the Two Sicilies returned to his beloved subjects with an Austrian army under Frimont. It appears scarcely possible that the Emperor's advisers have counselled any step so treacherous to his lawful successors as a flight, which might at once cause the disruption of the empire. To account for the invasion, therefore, there remains the alternative of a search for health or one for aid.

There must be some common cause for the striking fact that so many members of the royal classes are out of work just now. To say nothing of branches that have been set aside, like the legitimate branches of Spain and Portugal, or of those individuals who have been disgraced by the reigning sovereign, like Don Enrique of Spain or the Prince of Capua, there are several real reigning sovereigns and heirs-presumtive more or less in the state of having been discharged,—Louis Philippe of France and all his heirs, Ferdinand of Sicily, the Dukes of Medona and Parma, Louis of Bavaria, William of Prussia, the reigning Duke of Sheleswig, and now Ferdinand of Austria; besides various ministers who were the Achateses of these princes. It is strongly to be suspected that so many princes and ministers cannot have been turned out of place without some great overriding error.—Possibly it was that they actually did not understand their business—the business of royalty in the nineteenth century.

Royalty is of two kinds—despotic and "constitutional." In the case of despotic royalty, which has hitherto held its ground on the whole of the Eastern side of Europe from the Baltic to the Hellespont, the function consists in the direct exercise of power, legislative and executive, without the intervention of any other authority; the sovereign making and enforcing the laws by machinery which he creates. Such power is possible in a highly cultivated community, if the numbers of the people be small; because in such a community the rulers can construct a subordination of comparatively numerous classes pledged to the maintainance of power which serves their own interests. It is possible also in a numerous community if it be rude, just on the same principle which makes it possible for a child to master a horse; the bigger and more powerful creature not knowing its strength. But with the smallest dawn of political knowledge it becomes unsafe for even despotic authority to oppress large numbers; and hence Austria had instituted in her outlying provinces, especially Italy, a policy by which despotic power was supported through the coercion of individuals while the large classes were fostered and conciliated.

Another cause had begun to operate very generally in despotical Europe: the immediate instruments of power, the nobles and upper classes, had begun to feel the extension of political knowledge in their convictions, and those who sanctioned despotic authority were rapidly decreasing in numbers. This operation has been observed throughout Europe, even in the "constitutional" part: in Russia, the allegiance of the nobles is doubted; in Italy, the noble class generally swells the revolutionary and national party; in France, the nobles have become like the rest of the people; in England, the former "Tory" party has absolutely disappeared, except two or three individuals who remain as relics to mark the distinction between the past and present. A despotic authority, without a Tory party in some shape or other, is merely impossible.

But beyond that change, in all the great countries of the Continent except the Northernmost and Southernmost—except Russia and Turkey—the people have felt their power; the horse knows the child that has bestridden him; and henceforth, we suspect, despotic power, even with the help of armies, will be as impossible in Italy, Austria, and Germany, as it has long been in Belgium, France, or England.

Constitutional monarchy has been called a Republic with a civil list; but its function is far more positive and distinct. In a country with a "Constitution" such as that prevalent in Western Europe, the legislative and initiative power lies mostly in the elected power of the Government; the monarchy being charged with the duty of maintaining an executive machinery in constant readiness and activity, always fit for use. It is a mistake to suppose that such a monarchy is only a "compromise" between a despotism and a republic; though it does not perform the useful office of reconciling many prejudices which remain in favour of kingly power; while it also blocks out the hopes that may yet lurk among those of high genealogy, royal or noble, who might otherwise contemplate the seizure of any vacant throne, and the restoration of absolute power with a new dynasty. Such traditions and feelings survive among us, and a monarchy of defined power serves as a block to keep them off. But its distinctive and valuable office is to act as the fixed depository of the active power of the State, by the help of which, the action of the whole goes on smoothly, while parts are thrown out of gear, shifted or repaired. The safety of the monarch, therefore, as in the case of any other public officer, consists in the due and decorous performance of those specified duties.

A number of royal and official refugees are now in England; and if the opportunity were seized by Parliament to institute a timely inquiry into the causes of depositions, of revolutions, their success and failure, of Constitutions and their inevitable approach, a number of well-informed witnesses might be brought before a Select Committee—Louis Philippe and his sons, Prince William, Prince Metternich, and M. Guizot, to say nothing of Don Miguel, the Count of Montemolin, and Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. They might not all be willing witnesses; but once make them open their mouths, and the blue book thence resulting could not fail to be equally interesting and amusing. Metternich on the fate of absolutism and its workings, Guizot on closet statesmanship in the teeth of facts out of doors, William of Prussia on military discipline, its omnipotency or otherwise, Montemolin and Miguel on legitimacy, its prospects and profits, Louis Philippe on the comparative opportunities and advantages of private life and royal life,—all such evidence would be pregnant with instruction. From Metternich, Guizot, and other intelligent persons who might be called upon, very useful information might be drawn as to the capacity of the royal classes generally for fulfilling the duties of constitutional monarchy in Europe; because if some of the ex-despots are really incapable of being promoted to the more exalted post of constitutional sovereigns—and we believe that some *are* quite incapable—it would be a saving of trouble to ascertain the fact, and to seek substitutes: for, truly, Europe ought to be put in order as soon as possible, to consolidate its just constitutional power against the reactionary inroads from the North, by which it will be menaced so long as anarchy and the pretensions of the royal classes out of work afford a pretext for Russia to march in.

DOTHEBOYS HALL.—Dickens in the preface to a new edition of Nicholas Nickleby, just published in London, gives an interesting account of a pilgrimage made into Yorkshire to see for himself the condition of the schools there, which, as a child he had conceived a vague notion, were wretched in the extreme. We find a portion of this Preface in a notice of the new edition in an English paper, and copy it. It is almost an added chapter to the novel itself.

"I was always curious about them—fell, long afterwards and at sundry times into the way of hearing more about them—at last having an audience, resolved to write about them. With that intent I went down into Yorkshire before I began this book, in very severe winter-time, which is pretty faithfully described herein. As I wanted to see a scoolmaster or two, and was forewarned that those gentlemen might, in their modesty, be shy of receiving a visit from the author of the 'Pickwick Papers,' I consulted with a professional friend here, who had a Yorkshire connection, and with whom I concerted a pious fraud. He gave me some letters of introduction, in the name, I think, of my travelling companion; they bore reference to a suppositious little boy who had been left with a widowed mother who didn't know what to do with him; the poor lady had thought, as a means of thawing the tardy compassion of her relations in his behalf, of sending him to a Yorkshire school; I was the poor lady's friend, travelling that way; and if the recipient of the letter could inform me of a school in his neighbourhood, the writer would be very much obliged.

One of those letters brought to the inn where the author took his ease, after his cold journey, the original of John Browdie:—

"I recollect he was a jovial, ruddy, broad-faced man; that we got acquainted directly; and that we talked on all kinds of subjects except the school which he showed a great anxiety to avoid. Was there any large school near? I asked him in reference to the letter. 'Oh yes he said, there was a pretty big 'un.'—'Was it a good one,' I asked.—'Ey!' he said, 'it was a matther of opinion; and fell to looking at the fire, staring round the room, and whistling a little. On my reverting to some other topic that we had been discussing, he recovered immediately; but though I tried him again and again, I never approached the question of the school, even if he were in the middle of a laugh, without observing that his countenance fell, and that he became uncomfortable. At last, when we had passed a couple of hours or so, very agreeably, he suddenly took up his hat, and leaning over the table and looking me full in the face, he said in a low voice: 'Weel, Misther, we've been very pleasant toogather, and ar'll spake my moind tiv'ee.—Dinnot let the weedur send her little boy to yan o' our school-masthers, while there's a barse to hoold in a' Lunnun, or a goother to lie asleep in. Ar wouldn't make ill words amang my neeburs, ar speak tiv'ee quiet loike. But I'm dom'd if ar can gang to bed and not tell'ee for weedurs sak,' to keep the lattle boy from sike a' scoondrels while there's a barse to hold in a' Lunnun, or a goother to lie asleep in!' Repeating these words with great heartiness, and with a solemnity on his jolly face that made it look twice as large as before, he shook hands and went away."

And, says the notice, Mr. Dickens returned home, and with his goose quill so tattooed the visage of the Yorkshire school-master, that the savage has been ashamed to show his face among us since.

A SHAM NAPOLEON.—We hope that the eagle carried by Louis Napoleon to France on his invasion of Boulogne with a case of champagne, is still alive and in decent feather. That historical bird had been instructed in the spirit of the old Roman legends; and, at a certain moment, was to descend upon Louis Napoleon's head, that amazed Frenchmen might interpret the visit as the work of Jupiter himself, choosing the regal master of thirty-five millions. The bird was sent to feed upon the garbage of a slaughter-house, and the Prince was escorted to Ham. The Prince survives; to the exceeding honour of France: we trust that no untoward case of pip has carried off the eagle. For this reason; its part, so long postponed, may still be acted. Still the eagle may perch upon the royal *caput*, bringing an imaginary crown to the charm, in the Elysian Fields of Paris. For LOUIS NAPOLEON is chosen deputy; and LAMARTINE in his patriotic agony has been defeated by the Chamber. *Vive l' Empereur!* has been shouted. Well, the French must have an undistinguishing stomach for heroes, if they can swallow the nincompoop of Boulogne. It was generally believed that, in the opinion of the French, Louis Napoleon had committed moral suicide, falling as he did so heavily upon the ridiculous. Nevertheless, a certain class have dressed him in the memories of the dead Emperor of the dead Invalides; have gilt the thing of gingerbread with the gold of a great name. A melancholy truth that awakens in us the worst fears for the stability of the French Republic. For though we have no opinion of the abilities even for brilliant mischief of Louis himself, he may be made the instrument of crime in the hands of party; and what is begun in absurdity may end in guilt. Any way, Louis Napoleon forms another wretched element in the political and social confusion that at the present time—to the grief of all who hope in human progress—confounds France. We had hoped a more enduring triumph—a more lasting reward for the patriotism—the moral greatness—of Lamartine.—*Jerrold's Newspaper.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The Marquis of Hereford draws about 80,000*l.* yearly from his Irish estates, and of which sum about 30*l.* may be spent in Ireland.—*Derry Standard.*

"Another F. R. S." says of the Royal Society, in the *Athenæum*, "every discovery is tested almost wholly by the social status of the man who makes it; or, like an Irish porker or a piece of Manchester cotton, according to 'what we can get by it.'"

The *Sligo Champion* says that Oliver Goldsmith's walking-cane is now in the possession of Constable Burke, of the Baylin police-station, Athlone.

The last inspection made of the operatives employed in the National workshops, Paris, fixes their number at 108,000, independent of 7,000 received on certificates from the Commissaries of Police.

DEFIANCE.—We defy the world to prove that we could be gainers by revolution, and we defy the world to prove that we do not need reform.—*Oxford Chronicle.*

The *Hants Independent* states that the gipsey school at Farnham, Dorset, established with the view of reclaiming the rising generation of gipsies from the vagabond life of their ancestors, is now in full operation.

POPULAR WORK.—Nightly issuing from the London press, in crimsoned cloth binding, a new edition of "Heads of the People," profusely illustrated with cuts.—*Glasgow Examiner.*

In a lecture at the Manchester Mechanic's Institute, Mr. F. Warren said: "The first cotton cloth was made in Derby, in 1773 by Messrs. Meed and Strutt, and it was then prohibited by law from being sold in the market."

In the *Pharmoceutical Times*, is a table of the alcohol contained in certain wines, per cent. per measure: the average is the highest in Lissa, 25.42; the lowest in Tokay, 9 88; in Madeira it is 22.62; in sherry, 19.00; in port, 24.17; in champagne, 12.61; and in hock, 12.08.

The *Democratic Pacifique* calls attention to the following erudite epistle, addressed to the Prefect of Vosges: "Sir—I hasten to inform you that we had an eclipse of the moon in our village yester-evening. The rest of the sky was perfectly tranquil.—X***, *Mayor of* Y***."

It is stated in "Fleming's Policy," that there are 14,700,000 acres of waste land in the United Kingdom, viz: In England, 3,454,000; in Wales, 530,000; in Scotland, 5,950,000; in Ireland, 4,600,000; in the British Islands, 166,000. It is believed that one-fourth might be reclaimed for wheat culture.

The *Western Times* says: "Berlin stands on both sides of the Spree, and as the people are considered to be a lively witty race, it may be from this circumstance that young fellows in England, going forth for pleasure and ,ollicking amusements, are said to be on the spree"

Several crown witnesses left Limerick by the Undine, for America, on Tuesday and before the vessel moved from the quays a person on shore cried out, "the hangman is on board," which caused a general consternation among the passengers, who had to be satisfied the "finisher of the law" was not really amongst them, before they could be induced to sail out.—*Nation.*

REVENGE EXTRAORDINARY.—A wag having had a dispute with a man who kept a sausage shop, and owing him a grudge, ran into his shop one day as he was serving several good customers, with an immense dead cat, which he quickly deposited on the counter, saying, "This makes nineteen; as you are busy now, we'll settle some other time; and he was off in a twinkling. The customers, aghast, soon followed him, leaving their sausages behind.

THE JESUITS.—A correspondent sends us the following remarkable extract from a work by the celebrated Abbé de Pradt, formerly Bishop of Malines, entitled, "Du Jesuitisme Ancien et Moderne," and published in 1826:—"The Jesuits have resumed their power in France, but at the expiration of twenty or thirty years at most they will be again expelled, and the clergy and royal family, who are now rejoicing at their return, will be driven away along with them It will be decreed that every Frenchman individually shall pay his priest as he pays his baker; and, instead of a royal family, maintained at the expense of forty millions, a President with a salary of five millions will suffice."—*Nonconformist.*

Total of Church property granted to that deserving servant of Henry VIII. John Russell and to his family in money value of the present day:—

Dunkswell Abbey, £29,000; Tavistock, £57,712; Mountgrace Priory, £13,000; Castle Hymel, £3,478; Woburn Abbey, &27,000; Melchburn Preceptory, £13,000; Thorney Abbey, £25,650; Covent Garden, £10,000; St. Pieran, in Cornwall, and the property of the Dominican Friars at Exeter, probably £10,000. To these must be added Beaulieu, £20,000. Total, £199,208.

RASH JUDGMENTT.—The judgment human beings pass on each other has often more to do with the outrage offered to the idiosyncracies of personal taste and feeling, than to their dereliction from abstract principles of morality. When people commit sins with which we individually have no sympathy, and which press inconveniently upon us, we are apt to give them over to absolute reprobation; they are utterances of humanity we do not comprehend. But if it were possible that any one man should arise, who could thoroughly know all that was in man, we should be struck dumb with the immense tolerance, sympathy, power of reconciliation, and of guiding to good, which he would manifest for all orders and degrees of men—from the Pharisee, with his broad phalactery of respectability, down to the most hardened outcast of Norfolk Island, who has sinned himself down to the level, and almost to the likeness, of a brute. Meanwhile it is a great comfort to believe that there exists a higher judgment, which will revise the rash and compendious mode by which so many are given calmly over to reprobation by their fellows.—*Miss Jewsbury's Half-Sisters.*

THE GREAT PLAGUE OF LONDON.—On Saturday *last*, during the progress of an excavation in Union street, Southwark, for the formation of a main sewer, about three feet below the surface of the roadway, the workmen came